

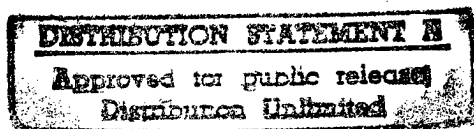


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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN



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PAKISTAN

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7 October 1992

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International Affairs

JUI Leader Calls For Islamic Bloc To Oppose U.S.

92AS1533B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Aug 92
p 2

[News Report: "Pakistan Should Form Islamic Bloc To Counter New World—Maulana Samihul Haq"]

[Text] Lahore (P.R.)—Senator, General Maulana Samihul Haq, central secretary of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Islam (JUI), said that the present government was established because it had accepted the mandate to establish an Islamic form of government. "However, they forgot all their promises after gaining power. This country was established in the name of Islam, still Islam is not established even after 45 years. All the governments that came to power did everything to stay in power, but did nothing to implement Islam. The present situation reflects this tendency. Pakistan should form a coalition of Islamic nations to counter the new world order plans of the United States. A solid policy should be announced about action in Kashmir, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Algeria, the Philippines, Burma, and the temple of Jerusalem. These countries should be liberated under such a policy." He expressed these opinions while addressing the people during the foundation-stone laying ceremony of Jama Masjid Haqaniya in Greentown. Mian Abdul Rehman, Jiamausi, Maulana Khalilul Rehman Haqqani, Ilaa Hussein Ahmad Aiwan, Maulana Abdulghafur, Maulana Abdul Latif Alrehman, Ahsan Faruqi, Yunus Shakir, and Hafiz Hussein Ahmad Sialkoti also addressed this meeting. Ilaa Hussein Ahmad Aiwan said that the British could not eliminate Islam from this subcontinent after all their efforts. These same graduates of religious schools totally annihilated a superpower like the Soviet Union.

Regional Affairs

Asif Nawaz Visit to India Analyzed

92AS1534A Karachi AMN in Urdu 26 Aug 92 p 3

[Editorial: "General Asif Nawaz's Visit to India"]

[Text] It was reported in the press a few days ago that India had invited General Asif Nawaz, the chief of army staff, to visit Delhi. The report gave rise to comments, and some observers including prominent politicians expressed the view that Gen. Asif Nawaz should not visit India. The report was still under discussion when a military spokesman denied that India had sent an invitation or that it had been accepted. Referring to the comments published in the press, the spokesman said that GHQ [General Headquarters] had no knowledge of such an invitation. On the same day that the military spokesman made this comment, foreign secretary Shaharyar Khan, who had returned from talks in India, said in his press briefing that he still had in his possession

India's invitation to Gen. Asif Nawaz and that he would give the invitation to the general; later the prime minister, ministry of defense, and foreign ministry would come to a decision on the matter.

This incident proves once again that contacts between the foreign ministry and GHQ are not as good as they should be. At any rate, on principle, a foreign ministry spokesman and not a military spokesman should have commented on the issue of Gen. Asif Nawaz's invitation to visit India. If the military spokesman had still thought it necessary to make a comment, he should have consulted the foreign ministry beforehand. He would then have known what the real situation was and his comments would not have been regarded as irresponsible by political circles.

The fact is that India did not send Gen. Asif Nawaz a new invitation. A long time ago, India had invited the general but the reply to the invitation at that time was not positive. This time while Foreign Secretary Shaharyar was in Delhi for talks, the Indian Government renewed its invitation to Gen. Nawaz. At any rate, it is up to the Government of Pakistan to decide whether the general should visit India or not.

Politicians influenced by emotion may take the view that because of the Kashmir situation, the chief of army staff should not visit New Delhi. However, a visit to India would be a political decision and such decisions are not based on emotions nor should they result from fear or pressure.

The world political situation is changing and hence priorities are changing as well. Beneficial results are emerging from Shaharyar Khan's visit to India and the bilateral talks held there. The decision to recall the forces of both countries from Siachen and to declare that area a nonmilitary zone is of great importance. An agreement was reached in the negotiations on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and Kashmir was discussed as well. The defense secretaries of the two countries will meet for talks in November. All of these events show that a thaw has set in and tension is being reduced through meaningful discussions. Gen. Asif Nawaz's visit to India could produce further good results.

The reality of the situation that should be understood is this: if in spite of their border dispute, China and India can agree to hold joint military maneuvers, why should there be any hesitation in sending Gen. Asif Nawaz on a tour of India? President Ghulam Ishaq has already said that Pakistan did not want a war with India and, even without an agreement on principles, it was ready to continue negotiations. In view of the president's statement, the Pakistani Government should not object to Gen. Asif Nawaz's visit to India. The two countries should agree on an early date. This visit will be a beneficial step towards peace.

Indian Motives in Inviting Nawaz Questioned*92AS1479C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Aug 92 p 11*

[Editorial: "An Invitation to the Army Chief To Visit India: What Is the Reason?"]

[Text] According to press reports, the chief of the Indian Army has sent an invitation to Pakistan's Army chief of staff, General Asif Nawaz, through Shaharyar Khan, Pakistan's foreign secretary, to pay a formal visit to India. At a time when the struggle of the Kashmiri people has revealed India's secularism and love of peace to be a sham, and when the world conscience is cursing Indian atrocities and oppression, no patriotic Pakistani or Kashmiri would approve of discussions between Pakistan and India because such discussions would be tantamount to rubbing salt into the wounds of the freedom lovers who are fighting to become part of Pakistan. To suppress the struggle of these fighters for freedom, India has amassed an army of 500,000 men in the valley of Kashmir. This army is not only targeting the freedom fighters for death but it is also killing peaceful civilians, destroying fields and cattle, setting fire to homes, and raping respectable women. Several incidents of social rape have become public knowledge and a number of foreign women as well have become the victims of Indian atrocities. Under these circumstances and at a time when negotiations at the secretarial level are under consideration [sic], India has invited Pakistan's Army chief of staff.

After the recent talks at the secretarial level, Pakistan's foreign minister said in Delhi that India was ready to discuss the Kashmir issue. However, no Pakistani is so optimistic as to believe this announcement, unless it is confirmed by an official of the same rank on the Indian side. After each meeting in the past, Pakistani prime ministers have made such statements, but no Indian prime minister has ever regarded Kashmir as an issue or offered to discuss it. They have always repeated the same conditions and the same line about Kashmir being an inseparable part. This time Narasimha Rao is creating an atmosphere just prior to the Jakarta conference, which would stop the raising of the issue in the conference. Hence, any reply to the invitation to the Army chief of staff should be given after a great deal of thought and in keeping with the national interests. India may have laid this trap to sabotage the struggle of the Kashmiri people and to discourage them. In the hope of lessening tensions, or out of naivete, we may walk into the trap. If India really wishes to lessen tensions, it should stop resorting to cunning and deviousness and instead show readiness to hold a referendum in Kashmir and give Kashmiris a chance to decide their own future in accordance with UN resolutions. Pakistan then would have no objection to improving its relations with India, and no one would disapprove if all of Pakistan's prominent individuals visited India. But in the present situation, any such action would be hypocrisy, which is after all second nature to Indian authorities. Pakistani leaders

should avoid such behavior. A few days ago, Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Khan suggested a summit conference with India on the Kashmir issue. This proposal also shows the naivete and unreasonable optimism of Pakistan's bureaucracy. Several days passed and India did not even bother to reply to the suggestion. Instead of bowing to U.S. pressure, we should draw American attention to the crushing of human rights going on in Kashmir and persuade it to force India to carry out the UN resolutions. This is the best formula for ending tensions on the subcontinent.

Army leaders of countries with close ties of friendship pay goodwill visits and benefit from each others' experiences in defense matters. But when the armies of two countries are confronting each other and clashes are occurring daily; when one country, because of its superiority in military resources, territory, and population wants to engineer the downfall of all its neighbors; when the armies of this country are engaged in the genocide of the Muslim population of a disputed territory; and when the country itself has never thought it necessary to honor any agreement or promise it has made, no good-will trips should be made to this country nor are such visits of any use whatsoever. Of course, the United States and European countries may want such visits and negotiations to take place in order to lessen tensions between the two countries; but the fact is that as long as the cause for the quarrel remains, tensions will not be lessened nor will visits and negotiations produce any concrete results. Our authorities are fooled by the machinations of the United States and its allies who talk about ending tensions; but the Pakistani authorities ignore the fact that the end of tensions in reality would amount to leaving the Kashmiri people friendless and removing the present obstacles in the path of India's insatiable appetite for expansion; and this the people of Pakistan will never accept at any price. The history of the past 45 years bears witness to the fact that India has always been the cause of tensions and clashes on the subcontinent; India has mouthed the slogans of democracy and secularism but Indian leaders have never, within their own country or outside it, given recognition to any nation, ideology, or religion, with the result that all the minorities in India are beset with anxiety and the Muslims in particular have become the victims of the biased and vengeful policies of the Indian authorities. India's neighbors are all disgusted with it. Every one of India's neighbors—Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and the Maldives—has been subjected to Indian interference, and of course Pakistan has always been India's primary target.

Talks With India Viewed Unfavorably*92AS1536B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Aug 92 p 3*

[Editorial: "Indo-Pakistani Talks"]

[Text] The sixth session of talks between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan ended in a friendly and satisfactory atmosphere. Efforts were made to remove the hostility that had recently increased between the two

countries. Both countries agreed on restricting their chemical weapons. Formal protocol for diplomats was also established and documents relating to the presence and movement of armed forces, information sharing on their exercises, and violations of air space were exchanged.

Pakistan's foreign secretary Mr. Shaharyar Khan said that India was ready to resolve the Kashmir issue through bilateral talks. However, India rejected Pakistan's proposal for a meeting of leaders under the Simla Agreement. The foreign secretaries of both countries discussed occupied Kashmir, Siachen, and restrictions on nuclear weapons in New Delhi. From their talks with the newsmen after issuing the joint communique, it is clear that the atmosphere is more friendly. However, not much progress was made on the Kashmir issue even though this is the basic reason for the dissension between the two nations.

India did not show any flexibility over this very sensitive and important issue. It considers the occupied Kashmir as its integral part and is not willing to give up its stubborn attitude about it. Opposed to it, Pakistan is willing to let Kashmiris decide on their own future as per the UN resolutions. The Simla Agreement was a means to implement these resolutions. We can say that it would not be realistic to expect the Kashmir issue to be resolved by these talks. Until this issue is resolved we cannot expect friendly relations between the two countries.

In this situation, the Kashmiri people are following the path of jihad to get rid of India's rule. It is not possible for Pakistan to talk to India and ignore the UN resolutions. This issue cannot be ignored either, just to be friendly with India.

Perhaps, some people think that just as India and China have established friendly relations by pushing their border dispute in the background, Pakistan and India can also improve their strained relations. However, there is a major difference between the border dispute between China and India and the Kashmir issue. The Kashmiri people are also involved in this dispute in addition to India and Pakistan, and the real decision is in their hands. According to the UN resolutions, it is the people of Kashmir who will decide on their self-rule and not India and Pakistan. India wants to ignore the people of Kashmir and divide the state between the two countries according to the Simla Agreement. However, India's deceptive tricks will never succeed.

Internal Affairs

Sharif Said Nation's Greatest Enemy

92AS1536A Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 25 Aug 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Who Is the Country's Enemy?"]

[Text] Nawaz Sharif, on seeing the throne of his power shaking, has started a new tirade against Ms. Benazir

Bhutto, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] chairman. He said in one statement that the enemies of Pakistan are Benazir's friends and that he had proof of the fact that the Jewish lobby had advised her to form a national government. At the same time, he also said that Benazir has raised the slogan for a revolution and the people have dismissed her and her call for a revolution.

When Nawaz Sharif says that Benazir has formed a plan to break up the country and she has contacts with our enemies, he actually is trying to divert attention from his crime of giving protection to the Jiye Sindh and Mohajir Qaumi Movements on the advice of his mentor General Ziaul Haq. This crime was exposed not by the PPP but also by the military operation in Sindh. The PPP does not need to get Nawaz Sharif's certification for its patriotism. The whole history of the PPP is the history of keeping this nation united and working for its growth. The late Mr. Bhutto said just before his martyrdom that he should be buried in the four states of the country because he loved the four states more than his own life, and he did not want to leave any of them even after his death. Opposed to it, if we study the role of Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League, we will not find its equivalent for the harm its leaders have done to Pakistan in Third World countries. These are the same uncles and other relatives of these leaders whom Quaid-i Azam had called the "bad coins." When they took power after Pakistan was formed, they began to commit atrocities on the people using some of the bad laws the British had made. They also took the properties left by the Hindus, which belonged to the Mohajirs (refugees), and made looting a common practice in our country. They changed our national politics into the monopoly of landowners and rich people. They made our country a prey of political unrest by regional conspiracies. They tried to keep our country without a constitution and closed the door of democracy to the people. The democracy in Pakistan was destroyed by the relatives of these big landlords and adventurers who are members of Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League. The bureaucracy was imposed by them and, in other times, they continued to suppress our basic human rights through martial law regimes. The old Muslim Leaguers who followed Quaid-i Azam's teachings, have left it because of the antidemocratic actions of the Muslim League. They had formed other Muslim Leagues under various names. These include Malik Qasim's Muslim League that has been fighting the war for reinstating democracy against the Muslim League of rich landlords and adventurers since its inception. It is opposing Nawaz Sharif's predictatorship and antidemocracy Muslim League.

Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League is composed of these landlords and nouveaux riches that has opposed human rights since the establishment of Pakistan. This group has wholeheartedly embraced any form of democracy be it Sikander Mirza's "controlled democracy" or Ayub's vision of "basic democracy" or Dictator Zia's "nonparty

democracy." It has always looked for the umbrella of a dictatorship or a martial law instead of a democratic government. Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League was created and nurtured by Dictator Zia through his magic acts. It was the people who were doing the duty of saving the feeling of patriotism. Nawaz Sharif's supporters have either played lackeys to the British or licked boots of the bureaucracy or became followers of the dictators. They have used autocratic means to bleed the people and suppress their basic rights. They have left no stone unturned in making the country weak and have been supporting the enemies of our country just to stay in power since Zia's time. They have been covering the crimes of people responsible for violence in our country. Now that the people are aware of their unpatriotic activities, they are retaliating by attacking Ms. Benazir Bhutto and accusing her of irrelevant crimes. Why should not they do it? They even have heroin dealers and arms smugglers in their ranks. They are experts in getting their way by all kinds of lies. Every student of history knows the vacuum created by the fall of Dhaka. The late Mr. Bhutto managed to get thousands of square miles back from India and freed 90,000 Pakistani POW's from the Indian jails. His leadership moved Pakistan out of the darkness of despondency and onto the path of a bright future. The PPP has always considered patriotism and welfare of the nation as its first duty. It is always ready to make any sacrifice for the unity of the nation. It will use its full strength to take care of Nawaz Sharif's group if it, like dictator Zia, also continued to support antinational elements. It will force all their followers out of power.

As for Nawaz Sharif's claim that Ms. Bhutto has raised the slogan for a revolution and the people refused her invitation in the 1990 elections, we do not need any proof to say that this claim is a lie. The 1990 elections were not elections at all. They were just a drama staged with the help of the computers in President House. The whole country watched this drama in amazement and interest. This was forced on the people in the name of people's mandate. When the people raised their voices about the elections being fraudulent, the president covered it over by calling the elections true and honest. Later, however, when the persons who had cheated in the elections became witnesses against Nawaz Sharif, the president and the prime minister became silent. Now that tangible proof about horse trading and "Operation Jackals" has been brought to light, the president said that this proof was found too late after the elections. We ask the president if he considers the present legislative assemblies suspect since the elections were fraudulent. The president, who had terminated one government without any reason using the 8th Amendment, remains silent now and is protecting this government. If Nawaz Sharif gathers the courage to take part in neutral elections, he will learn whether Ms. Benazir's revolution has been voided or not. As for Nawaz Sharif's accusation that Benazir receives advice from the Jewish lobby, it is a very petty and immature slur. In our society, calling anyone a Jew or a friend of Jew is a semireligious attack

and an effort to make the opponent's religious beliefs suspect. Nawaz Sharif's accusation is, thus, the second part of Maulana Sitar Niazi's verdict that is as meaningless and paltry as the first part. In response, Ms. Bhutto has asked Nawaz Sharif to first check his own sins before accusing her. He has obtained the services of the Jewish lobby himself. Sheikh Rafiq Ahmad had claimed that Ms. Benazir Bhutto's government was dismissed on the advice of the Jewish lobby!

Bhutto's Political Future Analyzed, Forecast

92AS1535A Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Aug 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Benazir Bhutto's Political Future"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq said a few days ago that the delay in verdicts on the references entered against Benazir Bhutto, leader of the opposition party, was caused by Bhutto herself. The president's statement conveyed the impression that Bhutto was delaying the court cases. However, Bhutto and her colleagues have accused the government of dragging its feet over the court cases because it had failed to produce any proof of its accusation; by delaying the decision, it hoped to save itself from ignominy. Certain circles are saying that the government is not postponing the court cases nor does Bhutto wish any delay in proving her innocence; lawyers, who are receiving hundreds of thousands of rupees each month from the two protagonists, are responsible for the delay.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it appears that both the government and Bhutto would like to see the cases settled expeditiously; thus the process may be speeded up, and one or two verdicts may be expected before the end of the year. If the verdicts are against Bhutto, she could be disbarred from holding office and may face new trials in the criminal court. If she is acquitted of each of the charges brought against her, people would say that her government was illegally dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaq. Political pressure for the president's resignation could increase and new elections would then be held. Several opposition party circles are saying with great conviction that new elections will be held. It should be noted here that the president's term of office expires next year.

In view of the strong opposition of the ruling Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] to the People's Party leadership, informed political circles are of the view that, if Bhutto is acquitted in the reference trials, the government, which has already announced its intention of making the Koran and Sunna the supreme law of the land, will lose no time in passing a law that would prohibit any woman from becoming president or prime minister. Thus, if Bhutto should stay in politics, she would not be able to hold these offices, and the People's Party would be forced to select another parliamentary leader. This view is also based on the fact that IJI had given a firm promise to restore specially allocated seats to women in the assemblies, and this promise was repeated many times

during the electoral campaign. After the IJI assumed office, it was announced on several occasions that a bill allocating certain seats to women would soon be presented; the federal cabinet also agreed in principle to restore the allocation of seats for women. However, a year and nine months have passed, and these seats still have not been allocated. Hence, political circles are of the view that the government wants to discourage the participation of women in politics and, in order to prevent Bhutto from becoming president or prime minister, the government could promulgate Islamic law forbidding women from holding leadership positions. If such a decision is made, the government will encounter no difficulty in obtaining the support and cooperation of religious leaders. The fact should not be ignored, however, that Bangladesh also is a Muslim country led by Khaleda Zia who recently visited Pakistan. Her leadership has not been challenged by religious scholars in Bangladesh or any other Muslim country; one reason may be that Bangladesh's constitution does not prohibit a woman from holding the office of chief of state.

NWFP Said Ready for Violent Explosion

92AS1445A Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
3 Aug 92 p 12

[Article by Saeed Qaiser Rizvi: "The Law and Order Situation in the North- West Frontier Province (NWFP) Could Explode Like a Time Bomb"]

[Text] After several weeks of silence, Khan Mir Afzal Khan, the chief minister of the Frontier Province, suddenly spoke out and astounded political leaders and workers. It should be remembered that he accompanied Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif to London, returned and then suddenly went back to London. It was rumored that he had resigned and had returned to London because of disappointment with the domestic situation and might stay in London for a long time. But he did come back to Pakistan and, after participation in the meeting of the Muslim League's working committee, he returned to the Frontier Province. He said and heard many things in the working committee meetings. It is said that in London he met with Khan Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the ANP [Awami National Party], who persuaded him to return and told him that he should stay in office because ANP ministers had pinned their hopes on him; thus, he returned at Abdul Wali Khan's urging. Soon after his return, Mir Afzal Khan issued a strongly worded statement against WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] officials and the central government to the effect that—the Frontier Province would soon be in the same situation as Sindh; that although the law and order situation in the Frontier Province was not as critical as in the other three provinces, the situation could explode like a time bomb at any time; and that, if the Province were deprived of royalties from electricity, the people of the Frontier Province would rise up against WAPDA and things would be out of control. He said that there were legitimate differences of opinion between the Frontier government and the central government over

the accounting and payment of income from hydroelectricity. Even though it was essential that the Frontier be paid its share on time, which was not being done now, the WAPDA was making unnecessary delays in disclosing income from electricity, causing late payments to the Frontier Province, and creating mix-ups in on-time accounting, making it difficult to determine the true income from hydroelectricity. Although the Frontier chief minister has informed Nawaz Sharif of WAPDA's unseemly behavior, no action has been taken to ensure correct payment to the Frontier Province of its share of the income from electricity. Each time the income is calculated, WAPDA officials manage to create confusion and delay. The completion of the Tarbela extension program is also encountering delays and extra generators have not been installed as yet. Whenever WAPDA officials are asked about it, they say that work is in progress but something has happened here and something else there. The prime minister has instructed WAPDA to install new generators in Tarbela as soon as possible, but WAPDA is still delaying the installation. It is hard to understand what is going on behind the scenes. Even though there is a shortage of electricity in the country and load shedding is being done for long periods of time, the facilities which exist in the country for generating electricity are not being used. The installation of extra generators at Tarbela should have been completed long ago, but the work has been delayed for an extraordinarily long time under various excuses. It would not be incorrect to say that WAPDA and, to a certain extent, the central government do not want the Frontier Province to enjoy a bigger income and greater facilities. Tarbela was constructed more than 20 years ago, and in that period of time Bhasha dam could have been built as well; but the central government paid no attention to the matter and continued to insist on the construction of Kala Bagh Dam which would cause irreparable damage to Frontier Province's fertile areas. Moreover, the project has been designated a hydroelectric scheme when in fact it is basically an irrigation project which would provide water to hundreds of thousands of acres in Punjab. Bhasha Dam, on the other hand, is basically a hydroelectric project, for which the paper work has not yet been completed. Several other Frontier projects are still on paper after 30 years, and there is not much chance of any work being started on these projects in this century. These projects include Payhur irrigation project, Alwari tunnel, Wali Tangi dam and many other projects. Thus, it is not possible to deny the opposition's claim that the federal government wants to keep Balochistan Province as well [sic] dependent on the center. We can see for ourselves the consequences of keeping Sindh in a state of deprivation. The same game was played in regard to East Pakistan. It is not good policy to ignore politics, government, economics, education, urban facilities, and other aspects of life. All of Pakistan belongs to us. Punjab is ours; Balochistan, Frontier, and Sindh are ours, and their progress should allow the more backward areas and provinces to receive more attention in order to alleviate their backwardness. If this is not done, the sense of

deprivation will continue to spread its poison in the small provinces. If the Frontier Province had received its allocated share of royalties, the development work in progress and work which has stopped would all be proceeding. As regards Mir Afzal Khan's interest in the Frontier Province, it cannot be denied that he is an inhabitant of the province and his billions of rupees of investments are connected with the province. He owns the largest sugar industry in Asia. On the other hand, one cannot praise enough his diplomatic skill. He has kept the coalition government of ANP [Awami National Party] and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] going, even though both parties complain that they cannot get their work done. Regarding his association with the Muslim League, it cannot be denied that it is an official association; he is not a Muslim Leaguer at heart.

Over the past few days, active [shifting?] Muslim League workers and officials have been joining the Functional Muslim League in droves. The Functional Muslim League's provincial chief organizer made a great show of announcing the celebration of referendum day for which preparations have started on a large scale. Referendum day will be celebrated on 20 July and Pir Pagara, leader of the Functional Muslim League, is expected to address the gathering. He may be visiting the Frontier after a long time, but his visit is not certain since he seldom attends public gatherings. The number of active Muslim League members in the Frontier Province could not be more than a thousand. The Muslim League is again divided into different groups and among them the Functional Muslim League constitutes a strong body. Muslim League circles are expressing surprise that after the passage of 50 years, the Muslim League has suddenly remembered to celebrate referendum day and this has become a question mark for political circles. Fears are being expressed that both the ANP and the Muslim League will use the occasion to dig up old bones and create more bitterness; but the Functional Muslim League is in fact a Muslim League launched to confront the provincial chief minister's Muslim League and thus it cannot be expected that political niceties will be observed. On the other hand, the Province's chief minister is not interested in the political festivities of any of the Muslim Leagues. He is justified in his view that active Muslim League party workers are very few in number and they could at any time join a committee and become active [sic]. Recently, after becoming Frontier leader, Mir Afzal Khan issued a long list which was called the provincial council and was published for several days running, in which Muslim League workers were included; however, several months have passed and the provincial council's meeting has not yet been called. On the other hand, the Muslim League Fazal Haq group has again become active and the late Fazal Haq's in-law [father-in-law of son or daughter] held an elaborate reception last week for the old Muslim League members at his house in Defense Colony. They might have felt deprived and hence thought of forming once again a pressure group of the Fazal Haq Muslim League. In spite of all these activities, Mir Afzal Khan remains steadfast

in his political affiliation. The Functional Muslim League has already announced the name of the leader of the referendum committee; he is a former supreme court judge and, according to him, was the head of referendum committee at that time as well. The judge did not receive an invitation to the central committee meeting held recently in Islamabad; he was already angry at not receiving senate tickets. Mohammad Khan Junejo, leader of the Pakistan Muslim League, had appointed him as organizer for forming a union of the Muslim League lawyers of the Frontier Province. The judge was very active in that capacity and even offended some lawyers who presented their demands. He always told the lawyers that they were the architects of the country and under no circumstances should run around looking for jobs and important offices, but instead, should so improve their capabilities that the people and the government would come to them and insist on their accepting such positions. His words disappointed the lawyers, so that when he needed tickets for the senate and tried to enlist the help of lawyers, they told him that he had already retired from the highest office in the land and should let someone else have a chance; this offended the judge. At any rate, preparations have been made in Sukarno market for celebrating referendum day for the first time. By celebrating the referendum, the Functional Muslim League wants to renew its opposition to the ANP, raising the possibility of estrangement between the two political parties. Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the ANP, said in a recent interview that the Sindh operation should be impartial and fair and that action should be taken against all those political parties that are guilty of terrorism. He pointed out those issues toward which the government's policy has been defective, namely, the positive results of the Afghan problem [sic] and the problem of law and order. He mentioned in particular the fact that thugs who abducted individuals for ransom possessed lethal weapons which the police did not have. He said, "A unit was formed and then a leader arose who said, 'You stay there and we will stay here,' and thus East Pakistan separated from the country and became Bangladesh." It is a bitter but undeniable fact that in order to gain power in West Pakistan, the People's Party lost East Pakistan; and the result was that Punjab gained ascendancy over all the other provinces. At present, Punjab comprises 63 percent of the population and the other provinces 37 percent; the majority of the army is composed of Punjabis and Punjab is bound to remain ascendant. As long as the other provinces are prevented from sharing in power, they will suffer from deprivation. It is true that we have inherited past issues and problems but now everyone should realize that conditions have changed to an extraordinary degree in this region and that these changes are revolutionary in character. Political parties should abandon the policies of the twentieth century and adopt the policies of the twenty-first century. Moreover, the problems which have arisen are such that no single party can solve them. The provinces of Pakistan should solve their problems cooperatively and should give national interests precedence over party and personal interests.

Jatoi Reorganizes NPP To Get 'Due Share' in Alliance

92AS1425D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 4

[Article by Javed Syed: "Jatoi To Organise NPP at Grass-Root Level"]

[Text] Lahore, Aug 4: The Chairman of the National People's Party (NPP), Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, seems to have decided to do politics at grass-root level by setting up his NPP's organisational structure up to ward and union council level in urban and rural areas all over the country. [sentence as published]

He had made up his mind on these lines in the beginning of the current year and had dissolved his fragile and namesake NPP organisations at all levels in the country in March 1992.

With the dissolution of NPP structure, he had appointed S. M. Zafar as Chief Organiser and Allah Bachaio Leghari as Deputy Chief Organiser.

After Mr. Jatoi quit the PPP, he confined himself to drawing room politics most of the time. His alleviation to the position of the caretaker Prime Minister after the ouster of Benazir Bhutto was also due to the borrowed support by the powerful quarters. But after he developed differences with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Chief Mian Nawaz Sharif and consequently left the IJI, he might have realised the need for his sound political standing on his own political base.

The informed circles said that Jatoi also needed a strong political party to get his due share if he joined any political alliance in the near future. However, Mr. Jatoi has started to announce his party organisations at district and division levels. He has begun this work from Punjab, the largest province of Pakistan and the power base of IJI.

His Deputy Chief Organiser Allah Bachaio Leghari is touring Punjab now-a-days to announce the awaited party organisations at district and division levels.

In this regard the district and divisional organisations of NPP of Rawalpindi had been announced on August 1. Such organisations of Sargodha division will be announced on August 4 and the Gujranwala division on August 5. However, the district and divisional organisations of Lahore are expected to be announced after a few days.

The reorganisation of Lahore has reportedly been deferred due to borrow some time to settle the differences with the former divisional President Tariq Waheed Butt who has been blamed by the some NPP workers to start hobbing nobbing with PPP to switch over there. But the circles close to Tariq Waheed Butt have denied the allegation.

However, the expected presidents of Lahore Division and city, Syed Ejaz Shah and Seth Bashir have thick relationship with PPP workers and are busy in persuading some PPP activists to join the new organisation of the NPP.

PDA Predicts Early Dissolution of National Assembly

92AS1425B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi: "IJI Dissidents Will Also Resign, Claims PPP"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 4: Claiming assurances of cooperation from a number of members of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] dissident group in the resignation move, the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] sources Tuesday predicted early dissolution of the National Assembly and holding of fresh elections in the country.

Looking confident at the outcome of their resignation move which they said would be initiated at an appropriate moment, these sources said that the IJI MNAs [members of National Assembly] who have expressed willingness to submit their resignation from the seat of the National Assembly at the call of the PDA wanted a firm commitment from the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership that in case they resigned their seats the PPP would not put up any candidate against them in the next elections. Negotiations with this group of the IJI MNAs, the sources said, were at the initial stages as their demand needed a policy decision by the central committee of the PPP which they said would soon meet to consider the issue.

When one of the prominent parliamentarians and former Federal Minister in the PPP government Aitzaz Ahsan was asked to comment on the observations of his party sources he saw some understandable logic in the demand reportedly made by the IJI MNAs. Their demand, he said, was negotiable and the party should favourably consider it. When asked how many IJI MNAs have approached the PPP on this subject Ch Aitzaz Ahsan claimed that at least six of them who belong to Punjab have approached him while the rest of them were in touch with his other party colleagues.

Commenting on Monday's statement of the Prime Minister, the PPP sources said perhaps the move of his partymen have been leaked out to him and it was the reason that the Prime Minister went out of his way to assure the continuity of the House warning his members that their resignation move would in no way be a potential threat to the existence of the present National Assembly which according to his assessment would complete its term.

The Prime Minister's statement, he said, was in fact the reflection of the widespread despondency among the IJI MNAs about the fate of the National Assembly. The PPP sources firmly maintained that the PDA decision to quit

the National Assembly was final and irrevocable. However, it would be implemented at the "appropriate hour." Refusing to define the appropriate hour, they said, it was an essential part of their resignation strategy which could not be disclosed in advance. "You rest assured," said a top PPP leader when we submit our resignations the present national assembly will fall like a house of cards.

Ch Aitzaz Ahsan who wanted to be on record commenting on the Prime Minister's assessment that not more than five or four PPP MNAs would respond to the resignation call he said none of the PPP MNAs was fool enough to disobey the party discipline and put at stake his political future only for the continuation of membership of a house which according to him was bound to collapse. Anyone violating the party call, he said, would render himself ineligible for the party ticket in the next election. [sentence as published] The PPP members he said would submit resignations en bloc and there would not be even one percent deviation.

Meanwhile, MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] Senator Ishtiaq Azhar, who claims to be the spokesman of his party chief Altaf Hussain in Islamabad told newsmen here on Tuesday in the assembly cafeteria that negotiations between his party and the PPP for a political cooperation in the future were going on. Both sides he said, at the lower level of their leadership were already in touch with each other to find ways and work out modalities for such a cooperation. The MQM he claimed was still active and fully under command of Altaf Hussain, who, he said, has decided to take part in the by-elections to be held on the seats vacated by his partymen. The MQM, said Ishtiaq Azhar, has decided to take part in the by-elections to prove that MQM still commands the confidence of the urban Sindh.

Merger of ANP, PNP Claimed Imminent

92AS1447D Karachi DAWN in English 3 Aug 92 p 6

[Article by Nisar Osmani: "ANP (Awami National Party), PNP (Pakistan National Party) Merger in Offing"]

[Text] Lahore, Aug 2—Negotiations for forging unity between the ANP and the PNP have entered an advanced stage and the two parties are heading towards merger.

Stating this in an interview with DAWN here on Sunday, the ANP President, Mr. Ajmal Khattak, said the talks between him and the Secretary-General of the PNP, Mr. Shamim Ashraf Malik, at Lahore had made great progress and they were striving for a basis of understanding which could ultimately bring not only the two organisations together but could attract other like-minded parties to join what he called a "grand alliance of the progressive political elements." "My aim is to bring on one platform all those workers and leaders who were once associated with the NAP [National Awami Party] before it was banned."

Asked to spell out the names of other groups or parties which he proposed to contact, he said the Awami Jamhoori Party of Abid Minto and NDP [National Democratic Party]. He hoped that with the passage of time these progressive parties could be merged into one organisation.

Asked as to what would be the ideological character of the unified party, he said "you can call it liberal and left of the centre."

Very soon he would be having further consultations with Mr. Bizen Bizenjo, the PNP chief, who would be available at the Federal Capital during the NA session.

Asked as to what were the common factors and meeting ground between the ANP and the Pakistan Muslim League that had brought them close to each other in the governments despite their age-old differences, Mr. Khattak said the factual position was that the ANP or former NAP had joined various struggles for restoration of democracy such as the COP [Combined Opposition Parties], the PDM [expansion not given], the PNA and the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy]. They had been in the mainstream of national politics during various movements launched by the opposition parties.

Similarly, this was not for the first time that they had chosen to cooperate with an elected government. They had supported the government of Benazir Bhutto both at Islamabad and Peshawar for the success of democratic rule. Their willingness to cooperate with the Nawaz Sharif government also owed itself to the same desire.

When pointed out that apparently there was not much in common between the ANP stance on various issues such as Afghanistan, Kashmir, Shariat Bill, etc., and the approach of the Pakistan Muslim League but his party had decided to join the coalition, he conceded that his party's stand on the issues of foreign policy and some other questions like the rights of women were different but there was a meeting ground between the two on some other issues. He said it was wrong to suggest that the ANP had deviated from its viewpoint for joining the government.

He said "the fact of the matter is that by joining a coalition, a party does not necessarily give up its approach to various problems and that's why coalitions sometimes are broken once the differences cross a particular limit." Even today his party stuck to its stand on various internal and external questions. Elaborating, he said, the ANP was of considered opinion that the future of Afghanistan be left to its people and Pakistan should not back any group or groups in Afghanistan. Similarly ANP stood for a solution of Kashmir through negotiations between India and Pakistan and was of the opinion that an armed conflict could not provide a settlement.

He said his party was in full agreement with the privatisation policy of Mian Nawaz Sharif's government but would like to make it clear that it should not be at a cost

of the rights of labour. Similarly, he said the policy of privatisation should in no case be allowed to lead to cartelisation of economy.

Asked as to why his party could not pull on with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government led by Benazir Bhutto although apparently there was more in common between the ANP and the PPP for example their stands on economy, rights of women, secularism and some issues of foreign policy, he said his party had extended cooperation to the PPP government both at Peshawar and Islamabad but according to him, Benazir Bhutto seldom bothered to take them into confidence. She chose to take most of the decisions by herself, ignoring her partners. Elaborating, he said, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, comparatively, was responsive and receptive to their opinion on various issues. He, however, hastened to add that once there was a breach of confidence, the ANP would lose no time in quitting the coalitions.

Asked to comment on the situation in Sindh, particularly the action against the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement], he said the MQM leaders were complaining that their party and workers were being subjected to excesses. As against that the government complained that the operation was against the terrorists and outlaws, irrespective of their political affiliations. "We are trying to collect further information to enable ourselves to arrive at a conclusion." Meanwhile, in view of the conflicting reports from the two sides, the ANP believes that an inquiry should be conducted into the affairs.

He suggested that instead of making a probe through special courts a high-powered independent commission should be set up to enquire into the complaints of the MQM.

Asked whether his party had chosen to co-operate with divergent political forces such as Jamaat-i-Islami, MQM and the Pakistan Muslim League [PML] mainly because of common opposition to the PPP, he said "No." We were cooperating with the MQM because of our common interest in peace in the city of Karachi and on the rights of Sindhis. Similarly, we had been sitting with the Jamaat in all the opposition fronts formed against the governments of Ayub Khan and Z.A. Bhutto although we did not agree with them on various existing issues.

He believes that the disintegration of the Soviet Union had weakened the freedom movements in the Third World countries who sought and got support from Moscow. But the new geopolitical situation was a blessing in disguise because now the Third World countries would rely on their own struggle and strength.

He believes that the United States of America continues to pursue its policy of hegemony, particularly through the New World Order. Despite the development in the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. was scared of China and presence of socialist system in some other countries. Similarly, the United States was also conscious of the emergence of a rising Muslim world.

In response to a question, he said he believed that Mr Khair Bux Marri and Sardar Ataullah Mengal still had a role to play in politics particularly that of Balochistan. The two leaders and the ANP had worked together and strived jointly for the cause of restoration of democracy for a good number of years. The two leaders, he said, were alive to the political machinations engineered by some elements for creating a wedge between the Baloch and the Pushtoon in Balochistan. He hoped they would return to active politics in months to come to play their role.

JI Leader Justifies Role in Kashmir Militant Movement

92AS1444B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Aug 92
p 9

[Article by (Jamaat-i-Islami) Senator Qazi Hussein Ahmad: "Kashmiri People's Struggle and Pakistan's Role"]

[Text] The date 13 August is very important in Kashmir's history because on this date in 1948 the United Nations approved the following resolution: The decision to annex Jammu and Kashmir with India or Pakistan will be made independently and fairly by the people of Kashmir by a democratic plebiscite.

This historical fact is being deliberately hidden from the world. When in 1948 the Kashmiri people started their struggle for independence and Pakistan's tribal areas helped them, India, seeing an imminent defeat, took the issue to the United Nations and had this resolution passed in exchange for a cease fire. According to the resolution, the Kashmiri people were to have the right to independently decide their future.

India accepted this resolution instantly. However, after the cease fire, India sank its claws deep into Jammu and Kashmir with the help of its armed forces. It used various excuses to avoid a referendum.

In 1951, then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru established the so-called constitutional assembly in occupied Kashmir and changed his whole attitude. The United Nations refused to accept India's 1955 proposal, which suggested they hold elections instead of a referendum. Later in 1962, during the India-China war, the Indian prime minister sent a letter to General Ayub through U.S. and U.K. diplomats, in which he requested of the Pakistani president that the Pakistani armed forces not interfere in this situation. He also stated in this letter that India would hold a referendum in Kashmir as soon as the border problem [with China] was solved. However, India backed off its promise when the time came. Instead of holding a referendum according to the UN resolution, India openly declared Kashmir its integral part and its internal affair.

India had promised to resolve the Kashmir issue according to the Simla Agreement of 1973. However, former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi took the Simla

Agreement apart in 1989 by saying that because four general elections had been held in occupied Kashmir, the Kashmiris had used their right to self-determination. Therefore, he said, the question of a referendum in Kashmir did not arise. Pakistan's prime minister (Benazir Bhutto) could not respond to him; however, the people of Kashmir responded by boycotting the elections in 1989, letting India know that the people of Kashmir did not want to join India and were not willing to accept India's dominance.

The first Indian prime minister, and those who succeeded him, continued to postpone a referendum by various excuses. One excuse was that the defense situation in this region was totally changed because of Pakistan's military agreements with the United States and the United Kingdom. Therefore, India stressed, a referendum in Kashmir was not possible. This was just an excuse, because Pakistan's defense agreement with any country had nothing to do with the referendum in Kashmir.

India had been successful in suppressing the Kashmiri people's right for self-determination for a long time through pressure and repression. India had thought that it would make Kashmir a part of India through Indian education and cultural propaganda. However, the Kashmiri Muslims succeeded in implementing their own plans to save their Islamic identity and countered the Indian cultural propaganda quietly. They established their own schools, to avoid sending their children to government schools, and produced the new generation that exemplifies Islam's bright future in Kashmir.

The people of Kashmir have proved that they have the strength and capability for self-rule. In November 1989, the people of Kashmir started their fight for freedom, and have proved that if a weak and persecuted group is determined to get its freedom, even the most powerful country cannot keep it enslaved. Afghanistan has also proved this fact. The world saw a superpower face an embarrassing defeat against unarmed Afghans. The power of faith and the desire for martyrdom of those who wanted a jihad made even the most modern weapon useless. The "superpower" called the Soviet Union disappeared from the face of the earth.

The Kashmiri Muslims saw this all with their own eyes and there is no doubt that the Afghan jihad gave a lot of impetus to the Kashmiri jihad for freedom. They started an unprecedented jihad on the power of faith and forced world attention once again on the facts that Kashmir is not constitutionally a part of India, that the Kashmiri people's religious and cultural beliefs have not been influenced, and that Kashmiris are not swayed by India's military might.

The Kashmiri people proved to the world through their powerful jihad campaign that Kashmir is a separate state from India, from cultural, historical, and geographical perspectives, and that India had, according to UN resolutions, recognized it as a disputed territory. In addition,

the Kashmir issue is not a border dispute; it is the question of independence and the future of 12 million Kashmiri people.

The Kashmiri people started this jihad on the hope that the Pakistani people and Government, who consider Kashmir the equivalent of its main artery, would come forward to help them first. The Kashmiri people also believed that the Arab and other Islamic nations would support them the same way as the Islamic world, especially Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan, helped Afghanistan's jihad. However, the bitter truth is that the foreign policies of most Islamic nations are tied to U.S. foreign policy. The Islamic world, despite its unlimited resources, is not playing its promised role. The new Islamic nation, Bosnia, has been totally destroyed and is being forced to surrender. Similarly, Indian armed soldiers and other forces are committing atrocities on the Kashmiri people. Their communities are being burned and stories of mass rapes of pure-as-water Kashmiri women are being published even in Indian newspapers. Headless carcasses are being thrown in the Jhelum so that they flow toward Azad Kashmir and teach a lesson to the Muslims there. However, the Pakistani Government is still holding its breath and is scared that a war with India may start if it helps the Muslims in Kashmir. The question arises: If it is not appropriate to prepare our armed forces and the people to fight India, then why is about half of our federal budget spent on defense? In this situation, it is imperative that we prepare the whole nation mentally and practically for a major jihad. There is no other alternative to jihad if we want to resolve the Kashmir issue. We have no time to wait. India is determined to make sure that Muslims are not a majority in Kashmir so that the demand for a referendum is taken care of once and for all. If the government thinks that India is many times more powerful militarily and, therefore, it cannot resolve this issue with a war, then it should keep in mind that the Kashmir issue is a question of our pride and our existence. The situation is such now that if we accept pressure at the behest of the United States then we will not be submitting temporarily. We will have to acquiesce all the time. Even our own independence could be endangered.

As for the defense strengths of Pakistan and India, our government and the people should understand that those who have faith in Allah's power rather than the strength of its armed forces can vanquish even a ten-times-stronger enemy. We should also keep in mind that we cannot depend on the armed forces alone for our defense; we have to depend on the strength of our people's ability to resist. The latest example is Afghanistan, an unarmed nation, which destroyed a nation many times stronger because of Allah's orders and support. Seeing how the organized Muslims in the Kashmir valley have risen courageously, we can say with full confidence that India will be forced to leave Kashmir as a result. The zeal that Kashmiris have now is of the same color that was prominent during Afghanistan's fight for independence and which made the Afghan Muslims successful in

their goal. Those who scare the Pakistani people with India should check their beliefs in our faith and study the history of Islam.

Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir and the Kashmiri mujaheddins are fighting with India just to make Pakistan complete. If we take the defense perspective, Kashmir is like a fort for us. It is an undeniable fact that Kashmir's struggle for independence is actually Pakistan's war to protect its existence. It is the duty of every Muslim and Pakistani to free Pakistan's "major artery" from India's clutches. It is our religious duty to get the persecuted Kashmiri Muslims out of the raging Indian fire.

It is also the duty of the Pakistani Government to raise the Kashmir issue before the Islamic Conference, Conference of Nonaligned Nations, and the UN Security Council and arrange for full support of Kashmir's jihad through the government media.

The Kashmiri Muslims are not responsible for freeing the occupied Kashmir alone. It is the duty of the Pakistani Government as well as the whole Islamic world. Allah willing, 13 August will prove to the day when the whole Muslim world united over the Kashmir issue and the Muslims of the world will consider the Kashmir problem as their own problem.

IJI-PPP Fight Seen Undemocratic, Extra-Parliamentary

92AS1475F Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 5 Aug 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Will Democracy Survive?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif is going to table a new Islamic legislation about the contents of which we don't yet know anything concrete, Chief Minister Ghulam Hyder Wyne is telling the ulema in Lahore to unite, in order to forestall defeat at the hands of PPP [Pakistan People's Party], and interior minister Chaudhary Shujat Hussain has repeated his not-so-credible allegation about PPP's current involvement in the terrorism of Al-Zulfikar. Many times in the past, and on Monday in the most recent case of Wyne, IJI's [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] statements seem to presume that coming to power of the PPP would be a national disaster, and not a political transition endorsed by the constitution. One constant refrain from the IJI quarters, while answering PDA's [People's Democratic Alliance] calls for dissolution and national government, is that the opposition is anti-democratic. One can agree to that, because dissolution is a bad thing despite the verdict of the Supreme Court; and a national government is not envisaged by the constitution. But one simply can't reconcile this love of the IJI for democracy with its frequent assertions that PPP shouldn't be allowed to come to power. Mian Sahib has said it often; Wyne has been saying it more forcefully after his unfortunate statement on the clean-up operation in Sindh. This hangs

together with his oft-publicised belief that the PPP did a deal ('sauda') over the destiny of Pakistan.

There was pathos in Wyne's appeal to the ulema in Lahore when he asked them to oust 'Wyne the Sinner' from power and take over themselves to prevent the PPP from coming back to power. The conditionality Wyne placed before the ulema was that they should bury their various internecine hatchets to concentrate only on one theme, the theme of the discomfiture of what is still the democratically elected opposition in the legislature. There is no disagreeing with the chief minister when he says that the 'right-minded' ulema did support the Pakistan Movement, but the partiality that his PML [Pakistan Muslim League] has developed for them at a stage when his love for democracy is ebbing is not understandable. When he was in General Ayub's Convention Muslim League and the ulema were inclined to favour Fatima Jinnah, his understanding of the Pakistan Movement was different. Politics is no doubt a slippery thing and politicians will change their coloration to suit the foliage they are hiding in, but there are certain rules of the game in democracy that can't be violated, no matter how radical the change in coloration. The one irreducible principle is that the opposition is to be accepted and accommodated, treated as the alternative government, and given all facilities to execute its role of opposition. One can sympathise with the IJI plaint that the PDA is openly recommending extra-constitutional means to get rid of the incumbent government; but some thought must also be given by IJI leadership to why the opposition has become so desperate after 1990. The pressure of the presidential references and the draconian Jam Sadiq rule in Sindh, with full support of the IJI, are some of the factors that persuade some IJI advisers to recommend accommodation as against the total annihilation that the IJI leadership seems now to be bent upon. That is why IJI's new Islamic fervour is suspect in the eyes of those, who would otherwise not quarrel with its allegiance to religion. The IJI-PDA contest threatens to fall outside the democratic framework. Both parties will survive as drawing-room discussion groups after democracy has been put on the chopping-block.

Functional PML Independence Public Meeting Viewed

92AS1495D Lahore *THE NATION* in English
16 Aug 92 p 15

[Text] Lahore—The Independence Day public meeting organised by PML [Pakistan Muslim League] (Functional) in a hall at its offices on the Jail Road was hardly an apt replacement for the postponed PML Convention originally planned at the Minar-i-Pakistan.

By the time the PML (F) Lahore Metropolitan Chief Organiser, Sheikh Anwar Saeed, who had asserted in a Press conference before the meeting that his was the true PML, came to the microphone, a couple of hundred of

listeners filled the chairs in the hall, but they were a far cry from the hundreds of thousands needed to fill the Minar-i-Pakistan.

However, the rhetoric of the speakers seemed to be aimed only at establishing PML (F) as the true PML, the party that founded the country. Some were even more optimistic, hailing the Party President, the Pir Pagaro as the future Head of State.

Ch Muhammad Hussain Chattha presided over the meeting while Sheikh Anwar, acting Secretary-General Rana Mohammad Ashraf, Coordination Secretary Punjab Ahmed Saeed Kirmani, Chief Organiser (Women Wing) Rehana Aleem Mashhadi, Saleem Hussain Qadri, Azizul Haq Qureshi and Rana Nazrur Rehman were also among the speakers.

Chattha in his address compared the August 14 of 1947 with the one in 1992. "Whereas on August 14, 1947 there was hope and fervour, in 1992 there is despondency and frustration," he said, blaming the Government for the crisis facing the country. He said those claiming to be Muslim Leaguers were in fact those "who had embraced Ghaffar Khan," finding it politically expedient. Referring to the Opposition, he said, "Yet there are those who are asking for a new Social Contract."

Criticising Jama'ati-Islami Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmed's Pasban rally at Mochi Gate, where a Laser Beam Show imaging Quaid-i-Azam had been arranged later in the day, Chattha said, "Maulana Maudoodi had admitted not having played any part in the foundation of Pakistan." He called upon the people to support PML (F), at a time when "the country's integrity is at stake."

Syed Ahmed Saeed Kirmani said Mian Nawaz Sharif was almost on his way out of the office. "He belongs to the PML which is a symbol of corruption and incompetence," he said and warned that "these anti-Pakistan forces were united in their goal to break up Pakistan." He urged the people to support the "PML that holds the fulfillment of the Quaid-i-Azam's dreams."

Begum Mashhadi in her address accused the Punjab Chief Minister of having admitted fleecing even the very poor under the pretext of collecting funds for the League House he has vowed to construct. "He had said that he would take even the shirt off the back of a poor Muslim Leaguer for the construction," she said and speculated that the building might never be raised.

Azizul Haq Qureshi, taking a longer time than the 2.5 minutes allowed to each speaker, explained that his point of view that Pakistan is meant to lead the world, "What, from atomic energy to the break-up of the former U.S.S.R., have we not achieved in our few years of existence?"

A party spokesman later demanded that the decision of forcing thousands of railways employees into retirement be taken back immediately.

Junejo Said Set To Retain PML Presidency

92AS1475H Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 5 Aug 92 p 1

[Article: "Junejo Not To Resign PML (Pakistan Muslim League) Presidentship"]

[Text] Islamabad—The president of Pakistan Muslim League and former prime minister Mohammad Khan Junejo Tuesday told President Ghulam Ishaq Khan that he would not resign the presidentship of the party, sources said.

The former prime minister held an important meeting with the president and discussed with him matters of national importance. The president, who is a known supporter and ardent PML sympathiser, reportedly inquired about the party affairs.

Junejo told the president that a group in the League had initiated a move to dislodge him from the party leadership and instal Nawaz Sharif as president. The move, Junejo contended, was not justified because the majority of the PML leaders were solidly behind him. Moreover, the affairs of the party were going on smoothly and there was no point in changing the top leadership.

The PML chief reportedly informed the president that he would not resign the party leadership in favour of Nawaz Sharif.

The meeting lasted for 50 minutes. Besides the PML affairs they also discussed the Sindh operation and the political situation in that province where the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] was vigorously trying to oust Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah.

The issue of PDA's threat of resignations also came under review and it was emphasised that efforts should be made to protect the democratic set-up.

The PML president, it may be pointed out, feels concerned over the decision of PDA to quit assemblies. In his opinion, the en bloc resignations of PDA MNAs [members of National Assembly] would create a serious political crisis in the country and as such efforts should be made to resolve the issue through a political dialogue.

Government Implementation of Accord With SSP Urged

92AS1426A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 4

[Article: "Implementation of TNFJ-SSP Accord Urged"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 4: Maulana Mohammad Azam Tariq has demanded of the government to implement the agreement reached between central leadership of TNFJ [Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria] and SSP [Sipah-e-Sahaba] on July 2 here at the Ministry of Religious

Affairs. He said implementation of that two-point agreement would help eliminate sectarianism from the country.

Addressing a press conference at the National Assembly cafeteria here on Tuesday, he urged the government to take practical measures to stop objectionable literature allegedly coming from some neighbouring countries. He said this literature contains derogatory remarks against the companions of Holy Prophet (PBUH) [peace be upon him] which is intolerable.

He alleged that the government was not taking action against those who were responsible for the sectarian riots because of pressure from some foreign forces.

He said the role of treasury benches was condemnable and undemocratic during Monday's session. The Maulana alleged that the government wanted to crush the Opposition.

He appealed to the Chief of Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz, to come forward and play his role to eliminate sectarianism. He said his party would sincerely accept his decision in this regard. He further said that his party had no option but to involve the Chief of Army Staff because according to him the government was not interested in solving this important problem.

He demanded the government to resign as it had failed to protect holy places. He said SSP did not believe in terrorism.—PPI

TNFJ Demands High-Powered Inquiry Into Ashura Incident

92AS1426B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
5 Aug 92 p 5

[Article: "Probe Into Ashura Incident; TNFJ Boycotts Tribunal Proceedings"]

[Text] Peshawar, Aug 5: The TNFJ [Terik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria] has boycotted the proceedings of inquiry tribunal headed by a judge of Peshawar High Court, probing the 10th of Muharram incident and demanded a high-powered judicial commission headed by a judge of the Supreme Court preceded by, the transfer of the local administration, which according to the Tehrik, was equally responsible for the incident.

Central Chief of TNFJ Allama Sajjid Naqvi addressing a press conference here Tuesday evening said that they had formed an action committee, which after an indepth discussion would decide that the present commission could not stand up to their expectations and had given them nothing but confusion.

He demanded the release of the innocent Ulema arrested after the said incident and arrest of the real culprits, the removal of police personnel from different Imambar-gahs, who, according to him, were misusing their position.

He bitterly criticised those forces who were patronising sectarianism, and termed them anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani, adding that "sectarianism was the main weapon of our enemies in today's world." He warned that Pakistan and sectarianism could not co-exist.

He alleged that a number of their activists had been arrested on the pretext that their name had been included in the FIR [First Information Report] lodged by SSP [Sipah-e-Sahaba]. However, he pointed out that the fakeness of the said FIR could be inferred from the fact that it included persons who had died long before the incident.

Elaborating, he said that the name of one Sardar Nisar Ali was included in the said FIR, but he had died in 1976, while another Yaqoob Ali Razi had gone to Tehran long before the Muharram, but he was also charged in the said FIR.

He denied Shiites lack of interest in the said inquiry and alleged that on the one hand the authorities ignored them while on the other the present administration was partial and did not want to reveal the facts because it would also disclose their weakness.

Regarding the Sipah-e-Sahaba demand that the mourners processions should be confined to the Imambar-gahs, he emphatically said that apart from their religious obligation it was their basic and constitutional right, and anyone snatching it from them should be stopped by the government.

To another question, regarding the SSP bill in the Parliament for capital punishment for those who were looking down upon the disciples of Holy Prophet (PBUH) [peace be upon him], he said that the scope of the present laws was already extended to it and there was no need of any fresh legislation in this respect.

NA Debates Northern Areas' Constitutional Rights

92AS1426E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
5 Aug 92 p 12

[Article: "NA (National Assembly) Debates Motion; Constitutional Rights for Northern Areas Demanded"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 4: The National Assembly on Tuesday conclusively debated a motion under Rule 220 relating to the law and order situation in Northern Areas.

The mover Haji Javed Iqbal Cheema said on the occasion that the sectarian violence that marred the areas had made the situation worse during past some days. He said the sectarian tension still loomed there.

Mr. Liaquat Baloch traced the Indian hand in the Northern Areas violence and said India was creating a trouble there to counter the indigenous uprising of Kashmiris in the occupied valley.

He demanded full constitutional rights for the Northern Areas people, who liberated their territories single-handedly without any external support and decided to accede to Pakistan.

He urged the government to take administrative measure to improve the law and order and remove the sense of deprivation of the Northern Areas.

Religious Affairs Minister Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi called upon the religious leaders of all schools of thought to follow the code of ethics to avert the sectarian violence. He said media could also play its role in bringing various factions of the Northern Areas closer.

Maulana Azam Tariq said it was Indian and Jewish lobby that was disturbing the law and order in Northern Areas. He stressed upon the need for weeding out the problem from its roots.

He also suggested to send a delegation under the leadership of Maulana Niazi to the Northern Areas to obtain the first hand information of the socio-economic problems of the people.

Ameer Hossein Syed urged the Ulema to purge off their sectarian differences for the sake of the country's integrity.

He also lauded the Prime Minister's Monday's statement that promised to prosecute all terrorists, irrespective of their political affiliations.

Mian Mohammad Osman called for immediate steps to control the law and order situation in the Northern Areas, owing to their geographical importance.

Nazir Ahmad Virk said the Ulema of both the sects should display restraints and promote fraternity among the Muslims. Hinting towards Indian and foreign agents there, he called for banning all missionaries working in the Northern Areas.

Deputy Opposition Leader Mohammad Afzal Khan said the uncertainty among the Northern Areas people about their constitutional position was the main cause creating law and order situation. He also demanded the provision of fundamental rights to the areas.

Ch Barjees Tahir, deplored the situation and said the government was quite serious in preserving law and order throughout the country whether it was Sindh or the Northern Areas. His speech was continuing when the session was adjourned to meet Wednesday at 10 am.—APP

Journalist Views Nation's Future With Dismay *92AS1447C Karachi DAWN in English 3 Aug 92 p 11*

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "A Peep Into Our Blessed Future"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The average newspaper-reading Pakistani who is always asking 'what's going to happen?' need only look

around to get an answer to his question. The same greed, noise and stupidity that meet his eye is what the future is going to consist of, the only difference being that in ten years time all these qualities will be present in a more heightened form than we see them today.

It is true that just as some people are professional optimists, others are born pessimists capable only of seeing the darker side of things. Without straying to either of these extremes let us scan the evidence before us and see where it leads.

Take first the state of the Republic's morals. Is there any hope that these are likely to improve? Any chance at all that in the years to come we are going to get a better crop of leaders? Are the rich of this country going to become better citizens, more selfless and less greedy? Is there any chance that they will pay their taxes honestly or sacrifice their own comfort for the larger good of the community? Are the professionally pious, a class with which this country swarms, likely to become less hypocritical and more tolerant of opinions that differ from their own? Are our colleges and universities likely to produce better graduates? As a nation are we likely to improve our literacy rate and reduce the rate at which our population breeds? If the answer to all these questions is in the negative, what makes us think that if one set of poltroons is replaced by another, our lot is going to improve?

When Zia's martial law lay heavy on the land, nothing burnt as brightly as our touching faith in democracy. My generation at least considered democracy as the panacea for all our troubles. It had to take Ishaq's presidency and Nawaz Sharif's prime ministership (not to forget Benazir's interregnum) to knock the bottom out of this illusion and teach us the limitations of Pakistani democracy.

It is in "Les Miserables" that Hugo speaks of the horror of an incurable destiny. There are elements of our national life which seem part of the divine order of things. Consider, for instance, the nature of our political leadership. Did ever a nation have such a succession of feckless and blind souls presiding over its fortunes? This is what convinces me that Nawaz Sharif is going to be around for somewhat longer than the optimists among us think. Both he and President Ishaq seem part of our destiny, a penance for our sins and failures. The continuation of the dispensation they represent is a joke our gift for self-flagellation richly deserves. As a senior bureaucrat, now retired, puts it "Forget about Ishaq's second term. It's his third you should be worrying about."

The notion of change which beguiles our chattering classes is based upon a simple premise: that the ineptness and corruption radiating from Islamabad are so great that things just cannot go on in this manner. This argument is easily destroyed. As a country we have gotten used to such monumental levels of incompetence and corruption that the national capacity for surprise has been exhausted.

Could anything have been bigger than the coops scandal? Half a million people bilked of their entire savings. In any other country which enjoyed the trappings of democracy the government, to howls of derision, would have fallen. Or at least those involved in such a scandal would not have shown their faces in public for a long time. But judging by the confidence of the Prime Minister and his interior minister (both of whose business houses took huge loans from the biggest of the coop societies) it seems as if such a thing never happened at all.

Every new day brings fresh evidence of the Prime Minister's sure grip on the working of his office. Whenever the urge gets him, which is pretty often, he announces policy decisions (like the anti-adulteration campaign, the drive to recover illegal arms, etc.) whose impracticality is abundantly revealed even before the sound of his voice has subsided. But the fondness for making loud declarations that have not the remotest connection with reality remains unimpaired.

The responsibility for our failures, however, does not rest upon the shoulders of specific individuals alone. The entire class which provides this country with its rulers, its administrators, its hare-brained dreamers and its enterprising captains of industry is contaminated to the core. It has neither vision nor courage. Worse, it is also morally depraved. After all, what are the great values (except a vague and self-serving liberalism) that the educated classes of Pakistan stand for? What are the ideals that inspire them? Apart from the get-rich-quick motive, which like a canker runs through the soul of this country, nothing it would seem.

As Deng Xiaoping says "To get rich is beautiful." But the relentless manner in which this principle has been applied in Pakistan has made every aspect of public service subordinate to the great end of getting rich overnight. The Sharifs have made more money (by setting up legitimate factories, I hasten to add) during the time when their brightest son has been on the commanding heights of power because being businessmen they know better than others how to multiply their profits. Otherwise, every prime minister in recent memory—Junejo, Zardari (as a substitute for Benazir), Jatoi and now Nawaz Sharif—has set up a sugar mill. Is it surprising then if standards of public morality have plunged to such low depths?

Granted that the political establishment is corrupt and therefore unworthy of having any hopes pinned upon its performance. But there should be other elements in this society ready and able to challenge the status quo and present an alternative before the masses. What is the depressing reality? If there is any ferment taking place in Pakistan today it is on the extreme right whose votaries, emboldened and perhaps inspired by the "liberation" of Afghanistan and the uprising in Kashmir, are sharpening their quills if not their arrows in anticipation of other triumphs.

This does not mean Pakistan is on the verge of turning into a fundamentalist nightmare. Unless this be too complacent a view, the temper of the Pakistani people is a sufficient safeguard against that grim possibility. But it does mean that while the extreme right is hyper-active and generating some ideas, however cussed they may be, the chattering classes are largely concerned with making their fortunes, sending their sons and daughters to America and wallowing in their own cynicism.

Government Urged To Stop Persecuting Mohajirs *92AS1534B Karachi Amn in Urdu 8 Aug 92 p 3*

[Editorial: "Why This Demonstration of Enmity Towards the Mohajirs?"]

[Text] Following the start of the military operation in Sindh, distressing news is being received about the dismissal of Mohajir employees from government and semigovernment organizations. Employees of Pakistan Steel, police, and municipal departments have also been targeted. Earlier, it was reported that before their resignations, MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] ministers and members of the assembly had issued written orders giving jobs to various unemployed individuals; provincial chief minister Sayed Muzaffar Hussain Shah has stopped the implementation of these orders.

It is intolerable to deprive a man of his livelihood merely because he is a Mohajir. No government employee should be dismissed on the basis of his language or the province he belongs to; hence the federal government and the government of Sindh should intervene without delay to avoid unrest among the people and dishonor to the government. Every Pakistani, irrespective of the part of the country he belongs to, should have the right to obtain government employment. If an individual has been employed after duly fulfilling the requirements, he should not be dismissed merely because he is a Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, Balochi, Mohajir, or Kashmiri. Illegal dismissals create tension; those government officials who are dismissing Mohajirs in order to prove that they are more zealous than the government itself are in fact the worst enemies of the government and should be prevented from spreading dissension. An individual should be dismissed only if he is incompetent or corrupt; it is not a crime to be a Mohajir, to speak Urdu, and to live in an urban area of Sindh.

The government of Sindh is wrong in refusing employment to those unemployed individuals whose job orders were issued by MQM ministers before their resignations. These individuals were unemployed and it was not a crime to offer employment to them. The employment of only those individuals who are incompetent should be stopped; to deny employment to qualified individuals merely because these individuals were recommended by MQM ministers and members of the assembly is sheer injustice.

If the government is telling the truth when it claims that the operation in Sindh is not directed against MQM and

the Mohajirs, then what is the meaning of refusing employment to unemployed Mohajirs and dismissing Mohajir employees?

President Ghulam Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif should give serious attention to the situation created by these dismissals in Sindh. In certain organizations such as Pakistan Steel, workers are being deprived of their legitimate privileges and medical services that were formally agreed upon are being reduced. Workers' unions have repeatedly protested against these actions but to no avail. Authorities assume that the military operation allows them to do just as they please and that they should take full advantage of the opportunity; they do not realize that no one is above the law and that the courts of law have not been closed down.

The constitution gives autonomy to the provinces but due to the situation in Sindh and the military operation, the Sindh government has, under constitutional law, ceded its powers to the federal authorities; hence the federal government is attending to Sindh affairs. The Sindh government thus cannot be held directly responsible for what is happening in that province and the matter has to be referred to the president and the prime minister under whose guidance and consent the military operation is being conducted. The federal government cannot shirk responsibility by saying that the provincial government is responsible for Sindh affairs and that Islamabad cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the province. Total impartiality should be maintained during the military operation; if demonstrations of enmity towards the Mohajirs continue, the government will face public ignominy.

Commentary Explains Connotations of 'Mohajir'

92AS1495C Lahore THE NATION in English
16 Aug 92 p 2

[Article by M.A. Niazi: "Who is a Mohajir? What is a Mohajir?"; italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Who is a Mohajir? *What* is a Mohajir? Independence Day is probably the best time to ruminate over this question, which is forced on you if you happen to be an East Punjabi spending time in Karachi at this time of the year.

There is a distinct difference of usage. Throughout the Punjab, mohajirs are the people who came from East Punjab in 1947. It is not a closeknit community at all. There are strong distinctions, rivalries even, between the mohajirs of the Maja (Amritsar-Ludhiana), Doaba (Jullundhar-Hoshiarpur) and Ambala (Rohtak-Karnal).

Those who came from the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bihar (and even those educated and urban families who came from Rohtak or Karnal) are lumped together as Hindustanis, somewhat the way that

the old-time Puhktuns lumped everyone from across the Indus, whether an Awan of Kalabagh or a Suhrawardy of Calcutta, as a 'Hindustani.'

One had to go to Karachi to find out that the usage was different, that the 'mohajirs' of the Punjab are 'Punjabis' along with the 'Muqamis' who have also drifted to Karachi. The true 'mohajir,' it turns out are the people we here in Lahore call 'Hindustanis.' A safe distinction is in pronunciation: in Lahore, the word is *m'ajar*, in Karachi, *mahajir*.

But the connotations are also so extremely different. In the Punjab, *mohajir* is fast becoming a piece of family history, perhaps extremely important, usually the shaping event, but still merely history. In Sindh, it is a living reality, a crucial component of identity, and it will not go away so easily.

There are historical differences as well. East Punjabis were refugees from the greatest riot in human history, the survivors of a slaughter in which 600,000 died. Hindustanis were migrants, who came from choice, some out of idealism, others seeing a land of opportunity.

And there was a difference of integration. The East Punjabis had an easier run, mostly facing no language problems (except to some extent those who settled in Seraiki areas, such as Punjab Chief Minister Ghulam Haider Wyne). On the other hand, the Hindustanis had to face a different language and culture, which unfortunately they considered inferior. East Punjabis had the advantage of being able to use common biradari affiliations to cut across *mohajir-muqami* lines (Punjab Speaker Manzoor Wattoo's family crossed the Sutlej from Ferozepur District in 1947, joining up with their fellow Wattoos in today's Okara district, for example). The Hindustanis, on the other hand, had biradari configurations which did not tally at all with those of Sindh.

The concept of a fifth nationality is abhorrent, both because of its indication of a centrifugal rather than a centralising trend, and the awkward question of finding a home for this fifth nationality. It may be a subjective impression, but the driving force behind the Mohajir Quami Movement [MQM] seems to be the Bihari experience. Among the various groups which have formed the Mohajir community of Sindh, the Dehlvis, the Hyderabadis, the Rujasthanis, the Bombaywalas, the Kathiawaris and even Gujeratis (who don't even speak Urdu), the Biharis have the best reasons for a self-fulfilling siege mentality. After all, they are double mohajirs, once as migrants in 1947, then as refugees in 1971.

However, for once, understanding the problem does not make dealing with it easier for the rest of the country. A vicious circle has come into being in Sindh. The average Sindhi is steeped in his culture, and proud of it without being self-conscious. On the other hand, the Mohajirs are only now crystallising their identity, which makes them so obdurate about their political identity as well, still defending the leadership which betrayed them.

The average Punjabi is at something of a loss to understand what the whole Mohajir thing is all about, especially the average Punjabi mohajir. The Punjabi mohajir wears his patriotism on his sleeve, and feels that, whatever the cost and the sacrifices, Pakistan was worth it. The Mohajirs seem to be saying it was not. Doesn't seem to make sense, does it?

Well, when something no longer makes sense, it is wisest to sweep it under the carpet and move on to more Independence Day material. It should be a day of great rejoicing, for it was the first time that the Amir of the Jamaat Islami went and offered *fateha* at the Mazar-i-Quaid. It is high time the Jamaat, which has metamorphosed into the self-appointed guardian of the country's ideological frontiers (a task undertaken for the first time by a mohajir from Jullunder between 1977 and 1988), acknowledge the role of the founder of the country.

The Jamaat's infamous 'kafir-i-azam' charge, by the way, is one of which it is not guilty. That was a formulation by an Ahrari poet. However, the Jamaat's attitude to the Quaid-e-Azam has been such that they were quite capable of that particular statement, and it never seemed as if it bothered them much. But history has its verdict, after all, and even the Jamaat has to admit, at least implicitly, that it misjudged the only truly great statesman the Muslims of the Subcontinent produced this century.

Speaking of the 'kafir-i-azam' charge, Benazir recently proved that she would profit from lessons in the history of the Pakistan Movement. It is not this writer's purpose to defend Maulana Abdus Sattar Niazi's behaviour (though tribal loyalty makes him want to), but facts should be set straight: Sattar Niazi entered politics as the Founder President of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in 1936, and remained active in the Pakistan movement, earning a reputation as the speaker to invite to meetings where others refused to go, for fear of Hindu violence.

He was elected a member of the Punjab Assembly on the Muslim League ticket in 1946, and his parting of ways with the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] came well after Partition. He is one of the last men alive with a genuine claim to the title of a 'soldier of the Quaid.'

She made the usual reference to his having shaved his head to escape arrest during the 1953 Khatme-Nabuwwat Movement, not realising that this evidence of cunning is spoken of with admiration in his native Mianwali. However, there again, for what it is worth, the Maulana has said the shaven picture printed in the papers back in '53 was from his college days, released by the police to defame him. A specious excuse this writer never believed until he saw a photo of the Maulana in handcuffs after his arrest, complete with luxuriant face foliage.

But Benazir went a bit too far when she asked what was the contribution of Niazi's father or grandfather, compared to her granddad and papa. All right, let's talk about

that, since the topic has been raised. Niazi entered politics the year Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto was defeated by a rank outsider for the Sindh Assembly. And while Niazi was doing his bit for the creation of Pakistan, who played a major role in ensuring the British hanged Syed Sibghatullah Shah, the then Pir Pagaro? Who was among those Muslims who refused to surrender his British-granted title? Who was the Diwan of Junagarh who signed the order inviting the Indian forces in?

Well, well, let us leave all of that aside, with perhaps a gentle reminder to the Leader of the Opposition not to take to heart the sayings of a man 14 years older than her father. It would have been more gracious to have restricted her defence to herself, rather than engage in a counterattack.

Sindh Assembly Seen as 'Mockery' of Democracy

92AS1475G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 4 Aug 92 p 8

[Article by G. N. Mughul: "Mocking Democratic Institutions"]

[Text] Karachi—Sindh Assembly, elected by about 40 million people of the province is without a speaker for the last one month and six days. The ongoing session is the second consecutive without the speaker which could be called illogical in the sense that the speaker has tendered resignation but neither it is accepted nor he is brought to chair the session. [sentence as published]

The joke with the people of Sindh and its highest and most sacred representative forum is not confined to that extent but is beyond that as about more than one month back 24 MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] tendered their resignations which were kept in abeyance for more than 15 days. [sentence as published] During this 15-day period instead of declaring the seats as vacant, a Sherlock Holmes-type mystery was maintained jointly by the Sindh government and the deputy speaker, Sindh Assembly, by declaring that "the matter was under study to determine as to whether the resignations were tendered under duress or not? Afterwards, the resignations of only 10 MPAs were accepted but the matter regarding the rest of 14 MPAs was kept pending. The government and the deputy speaker did not feel it suitable to explain as to why only 10 resignations were accepted.

The conduct demonstrated by Sindh governor, Sindh chief minister and the Sindh Assembly secretariat leads one to only one conclusion that "the present rulers are not meant to follow the constitution, law of the land and the past parliamentary practices". They seem to have turned a deaf ear to all the expert opinions of a number of prominent jurists of the country whose wisdom cannot be challenged by anyone. Such jurists include Justice (Ret.) Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim who while talking to THE FRONTIER POST a few days back observed that, (a) resignation once tendered by an MPA and received by the speaker is bound to be forwarded to the

Election Commission for necessary action under the relevant law, (b) the resignation once tendered cannot be withdrawn and (c) even if the resignation is tendered under duress its only remedy is available with the court and not the speaker.

Besides, THE FRONTIER POST talked with a former speaker of Sindh Assembly, who is closely related to a very high authority of the province as such he requested anonymity, but remarked that speaker was supposed to act as a post office when he received a resignation from an MPA. According to him the speaker had no other option but to immediately forward the resignation to the Election Commission for necessary action.

In the light of these expert opinions, it is quite clear that the speaker is bound to forward resignations to the Election Commission for issuing the notification declaring the constituency as vacant. Similarly, the Sindh governor is also bound to accept the resignation of the speaker of the assembly once received by him. What is strange is that initially it was announced from the governor house that speaker's resignation had not been received. But, later, the deputy speaker is on record on more than one occasion that the resignation has been received by the governor house. Even, otherwise, Speaker Abdul Raghieb Khan has also resigned as the member of Sindh Assembly. At least some action should have been taken on that application. But, so far nothing has been done.

It is not less strange to note the statements of Sindh Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, as whenever he was questioned on this issue his stereo-type replies on each time were: "As far as the speaker's resignation is concerned it is the governor, who is competent to accept or reject it" and "as for the resignations tendered by MPAs, it is the prerogative of the deputy speaker to take action". Here Barrister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah perhaps forgot that he is the leader of the house and it was his first and foremost duty to ensure that the house was in order and that law was not being violated. The chief minister's indifference to the issue cannot be ignored as with this conduct he may place himself in history as a character who played the key role in destroying the democratic institutions in the country. Similarly, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan may close his eyes to such serious violations of democratic norms and Islamabad may not see as to what treatment is being meted out to the Sindh Assembly and the democratic rights of 40 million people of Sindh but historians of today are certainly watching all these developments very closely and would file references in the history against the present rulers—both of Sindh and Islamabad.

It is no less a sinister game through which on the one hand resignations of the speaker and 24 MPAs are not being disposed of while on the other hand a blatant attempt of resorting to horse-trading is being made by bringing two or three of those MQM MPAs, who resigned, in the fold of the treasury benches of Sindh Assembly by manouevring their statements so as to save

Muzaffar Shah's government from collapse. Why the rulers do not realise that not only history is recording their each and every game but the diplomats of other countries present in Islamabad and Karachi are also very closely watching as to what joke is being played with the democratic institutions and might be sending reports to their respective governments about such developments.

Foreign media and press is also very alert and each and every blow inflicted on the democratic system is being reported in detail. So, do our rulers realise that what image of our country, government of the day and present rulers is being painted in the minds of the general public as well as the governments all over the world.

Sindh: Shujat Says Military Stays Till Peace Returns

*92AS1425F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 4*

[Article: "Operation To Continue Till Peace in Sindh: Shujat"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 4: Federal Interior Minister, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain has said that military operation in Sindh province against the terrorists had yielded positive results and brought considerable improvement in law and order, in the province.

In a telephonic talk with the Voice of America, the Interior Minister made it clear that the army in Sindh province would not stay for even one day more than required. The operation would continue till the restoration of peace in Sindh province.

The military action was initiated in Sindh due to subversive elements in Sindh province, he added.

To a question, he said that now the people of interior Sindh are travelling at night without any fear. As far as urban areas are concerned, the people have a sigh of relief following the initiation of the operation.

The crime rate in the province, he stated decreased to a considerable level because the culprits and outlaws had gone underground.

Similar operation, he said was undertaken during the previous martial law regime. However, he added this operation proved to be successful. He said that it was an achievement of the government to establish peace in Karachi without firing even a single bullet.

The Interior Minister outrightly rejected the allegations of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] that the Sindh Government has lost its majority in the Assembly and said that the present Provincial Government has shown its strength in the Assembly.

When asked to comment on opposition's allegation that the government wanted to create disturbances through its men that there could be PDA's clash with the army

during PDA's call for demonstration in Sindh, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain said "The government do not need to create disturbances in their (PDA) demonstrations".

He said that PDA was well aware that they would not be able to put up good performance. Their demonstration was bound to fail, he added.

To a question, he said had the government wanted to do this, it would have done this in other provinces where their (PDA) demonstrations have failed in a democratic way. They postponed their demonstration in Sindh because they were aware that their demonstrations would fail in Sindh, "It is their fashion to blame others", he remarked.

Describing PPP [Pakistan People's Party] as subsidiary of terrorist party, the Interior Minister said "Nobody can deny the fact that PPP has links with Al-Zulfiqar". APP

Sindh Government Termed Illegitimate

92AS1475C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 7 Aug 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Is Sindh Government Even-Handed?"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] As PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders get kidnapped in Punjab, the scene in Sindh is getting worse. For the second time, the assembly in Karachi has been called and prorogued without discussing the issue it was requisitioned for. Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah is making conciliatory statements about the opposition, even offering them ministries, while his police is trying to arrest its MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly]. Two of them saved themselves by sleeping in the house overnight. Perhaps, the attempt to arrest them and 'persuade' them, while in police custody, was a throwback to later chief minister Jam Sadiq Ali's methods of 'political treatment'. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] is crying foul about the way the Muzaffar Shah government is continuing to harass its leaders and workers. The government that is trying all this has lost seven ministers and six advisers, but will not discuss the matter of 24 resignations by the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] members, with whose help the chief minister is running the province for IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and the president in Islamabad. The situation is unprecedented in that the government is holding on despite the most blatant erosion of its mandate. Muzaffar Shah is unwilling to accept the precedents that the Sindh Assembly has been able to establish over the past two years.

Out of the 24 MQM resignations, 10 have been accepted, two MPAs have come out of hiding and rejoined, while 12 resignations, including that of the speaker, are in the limbo, holding up the work of the legislature. The assembly has accepted resignations in the past when it suited the party in power. When the MQM dissidents were kicked out last year despite assertion by them that they didn't want to resign, the assembly listened only to

the party. When the PDA tried to remove its deserters from the assembly, the party's verdict was not accepted, and the deserters were able to cross the floor through legal interstice. Now the deputy speaker has once again prorogued the assembly, saying he still hasn't 'ascertained' after seven weeks whether the resignations are real or bogus. This action is in total violation of the precedent set at the National Assembly, where the speaker was able to devise a reasonable method of ascertainment of MQM resignations before voiding the seats for by-elections. So much for the 'even-handedness' of the Sindh government, which has been complaining about the 'even-handedness' of the army operation in the province. In Sindh, all the state institutions broke down long ago when the centre imposed Jam Sadiq Ali on the province to sort out its enemies. The army operation has unearthed a lot of damning evidence about how this was actually done. A lot of it has not been revealed, like the list of 72 'patharidars', but whatever has come to light has totally destroyed the legality of the incumbent government in Karachi as well as the sincerity of democratic credentials of the PM [prime minister]-president duo in Islamabad. As long as the farce in Sindh Assembly carries on, the reputation of our rulers cannot be rescued from the blotch of draconian politics.

PDA Stages Token Walkout in Sindh Assembly

92AS1425C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 1

[Article by Dastgir Bhatti: "Government Opposition Trade Charges; PDA (People's Democratic Alliance) Stages Walkout in Sindh Assembly"]

[Text] Karachi, Aug 4: The Opposition (PDA) Tuesday evening staged a token walkout from the Sindh Assembly to protest against what they termed the partisan and unconstitutional conduct of the acting Speaker Atta Mohammad Marir who rejected another motion of the Opposition out of order.

The motion sought from the government to take the House into confidence in view of the resignations by 24 of its coalition partners, which according to the PDA had paralysed the Assembly and incapacitated the government.

Strongly repudiating the Opposition's plea, the Chief Minister asserted that there was no need for him to seek a fresh vote of confidence, nor did the constitution make it obligatory upon him to resort to such an exercise.

An emotionally charged Muzaffar Hussain Shah hit back at the Opposition with the rebuttal that it was not the Assembly or his government which were incapacitated or paralysed but, in fact, the Opposition was beset with mental paralysis which he said betrayed their (PDA's) lack of knowledge about the constitutional provisions.

He reminded the Opposition of the events of early seventies by accusing the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]

of having denied power to the Awami League which enjoyed the majority in a House of 302 members. Perhaps for the first time since he took over as the Chief Minister, Muzaffar went to the extent of blaming the PPP for dismembering the country and later on forming what he called a minority government in a truncated country.

In his opinion the constitution provided that a chief minister had to seek a vote of confidence only once through the secret ballot.

"Don't forget that I was elected unanimously and will hand over my chair to you only when you bring 55 votes or move a successful vote of no-confidence against me," Shah told the leader of the Opposition.

He denied that he was facing any crisis and accused the Opposition of creating illusionary crisis to destabilise his democratic rule.

Earlier the Opposition members criticised the Shah Government for having resorted to illegal methods just to save what they termed a collapsed government.

Substantiating the contents of their motion, the PDA legislators argued that in the given conditions when half of the Cabinet members and an equal number of the Advisers had resigned and the seat of the Speaker was lying vacant, it becomes imperative for the Chief Minister to seek a fresh vote of confidence and prove his majority.

Articles View Ongoing Sindh Operation, Outlook

Damaging Democratic Process

92AS1448A Karachi DAWN in English 2 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by Eqbal Ahmad: "Yet Another Blow To Democracy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Operation clean-up appears to be developing into an exercise in throwing the babies with the bath water. A notice issued on July 27 announced rather cheerfully that "in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of Section 58 of the Sindh Local Government Ordinance, 1979, the Government of Sindh is pleased to declare the Karachi Municipal Corporation Council to be superseded for a period of six months with immediate effect." Similar notices announced the dissolution of two Zonal Councils which, like the KMC [Karachi Metropolitan Corporation], were controlled by elected representatives of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement [MQM].

The euphemism "superseded" barely hid the fact that elected governments were dissolved by executive intervention, on the flimsiest of ground, to serve partisan interests. It is, in reality, yet another blow to democracy, and the state which suffers from a severe crisis of power and legitimacy. Centralisation of power, suffocation of local, representative institutions, and devaluation of the rule of law are among the root causes of the crisis of state

in Pakistan. All of these are linked to this unwise decision to dissolve elected local bodies.

The reason cited for this extreme and, under the circumstances, undemocratic measure were that in the provincial government's "opinion" the KMC had failed to discharge its duties, and did not pass the budget before the commencement of the financial year 1992-93, as required by a law passed in 1979. A letter from Mayor Farooq Sattar, dated July 21, explained the conditions which prevented him from holding a vote on KMC's budget. It was handily dismissed by the government as "untenable both on facts or in law."

An unseemly scramble for ad hoc succession to the elected body ensued immediately among, as it was to be expected, the politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers. During his recent visit to Sindh, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif emphasised the virtues of rehabilitating the Muslim League in Sindh's urban areas. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad Khan, the League's General Secretary, followed up with a statement that his party alone can fill the vacuum created by the dismissal of the elected local bodies. The Muslim League's minority status in urban Sindh notwithstanding, three League aspirants are already running for nomination. The bureaucracy has thrown its two names into the hopper. As for the military, it knows that, of course, it alone can clean up the mess left behind by civilians. Mayor Farooq Sattar's arrest is rumoured to be impending. Past tragedies are being replayed as farce.

There is little doubt that we are witnesses yet again to gutter politics, the sort which devalues principle, law, and the democratic process. We are no strangers to this sort of politics. The dismissal of the previous government and the continued misuse of law to harass the main opposition party are aspects of an arbitrary outlook which has long prevailed in Pakistan at the highest levels of government. We must remain, nevertheless, dissenting witnesses. If we get used to these violations of the principle and spirit of democracy, the country shall suffer without hope.

Legal excuses sound empty in such cases and devalue the law. Karachi's Metropolitan Corporation has been dissolved for political reasons—as part of the drive to break the MQM which was allied first to the most onerous dictatorship ever in Pakistan and, until yesterday, to the present government. A secondary objective may have been to punish Farooq Sattar, KMC's well liked Mayor, for his adherence to party discipline.

As directed by MQM leaders, the Mayor resigned from his seat in the National Assembly, giving a public demonstration of his party loyalty. The dismissal of his city government was merely the latest in a series of extra-legal punishments—including day-time vandalism of his home and harassment of family members—he has suffered for not abandoning the MQM in favour of its Haqiqi or Aman Pasand alternatives.

Army officials deny any association with the raid on his home, a denial which I am inclined to believe, but which still does no honour to either the army's alertness or its sense of responsibility. Such acts of terrorism by the army-supported Haqiqis reflect poorly on the sincerity and legitimacy of its anti-terrorist operation. After all, the public at large has no interest whatsoever in exchanging one set of violators for another.

I do not know Mayor Farooq Sattar well, though I have met him thrice, briefly. Each time, he swallowed with surprising grace my harsh public criticism of MQM's criminal behaviour, and my urgings that the complicit government punish the extra-legal excesses of its ally. The first time was soon after a colleague, THE HERALD's correspondent Zafar Abbas, had been beaten up and Karachi's Press had been for weeks, openly harassed by MQM's thugs.

On another occasion, we were both at a symposium on Karachi's problems when I spoke of MQM's lawless behaviour as a problem, and proceeded to roundly condemn its assaults on the facilities of Edhi Welfare Trust. Mr. Muzaffar Hussain Shah, then Law Minister of Sindh, had presided over the session at which I spoke. In his concluding remarks, he completely ignored my plea that the government enforce the laws. He left the conference visibly displeased, without even saying good bye to the keynote speaker. The Mayor, on the other hand, was gracious and showed some respect even for the outrage I had expressed.

I wondered after these encounters how a seemingly honest and decent man like Farooq Sattar could belong to a party so given to ethnicity, coercion, and personalisation of power. I have no answer to this question except to suggest that the MQM is a complex party in its appeal and composition which will not go away by a combination of manipulation and repressive measures. We also know that few individuals in this country have enjoyed the hard privilege of making clear-cut moral choices, and fewer have escaped paying a heavy price for it. The highest offices in the land today are occupied by men who actively collaborated with the most criminal regime in our history, a dictatorship which has inflicted lasting wounds on our body politic. These men have no right to judge others on moral grounds and further damage our nascent democracy.

His unenviable party affiliation notwithstanding, it is difficult not to have appreciated the sincerity of effort which Farooq Sattar made to meet Karachi's impossible challenges. His resources were meagre, and he was hampered by the behaviour of his own party no less than the mindless centralisation of power which constitutes the structural bottleneck of politics in Pakistan.

This is structurally a most unusual country in which city governments are hopelessly fragmented while the national government is dangerously centralised. Karachi, for example, has no less than half a dozen competing governing bodies, KMC being one of them. Yet, a well

informed Karachiite tells me that Mayor Sattar had some success, e.g., in creating civic amenities for the poor. The balance sheet of the projects which KMC completed and initiated in the last four years suggests that it performed better than most municipal governments in this country.

The accomplishments, or lack thereof, of the dissolved local governments are, nevertheless, beside the point. Central to our concern are questions of equity, crisis of the state in Pakistan, and the respect which is due in law and politics to elected institutions, including the local bodies which are the jugular nerves of functioning democracies. The style of politics which the selective dissolution of these local bodies represents does not serve the cause of either equity, democracy, or good governance in this country.

It is doubtful that it would serve even the short-term interests of the army or the civilian government. The army, I am told, finds Mr. Altaf Hussain and the terrorist wing of his party unacceptable. The Prime Minister, naturally keen to stay in saddle, appeals to the MQM's "sober elements" to collaborate with his government. But if they are serious urban politicians, the 'sober ones' must know that since they do not own large tracts of lands and peasants, they must hold their constituencies politically. They cannot in a crunch abandon the MQM ship and denounce its acknowledged captain. What they can do is to sail without him until such time as the grass grows at the abandoned helm. It is this alternative which they are being denied by the impatient, repressive instincts of soldiers and politicians.

MQM Needs Respect, Continuity

92AS1448B Karachi DAWN in English 4 Aug 92 p 11

[Article by Ghanie Eirabie: "New Deal for the Mohajirs"]

[Text] In all fairness, it must be conceded that the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] has helped organise the Mohajirs in Sindh into a potent force winning recognition for them as a credible ethnic "nationality"—presuming of course, that is what best suits their self-interest.

In any case, any sector of the population that is represented by 15 members in the National Assembly and 28 in the provincial, making it the third or second largest bloc of votes, ardently wooed by all political parties, cannot claim to be a hapless minority needing to live for all time behind protective walls. Strictly speaking, the Mohajirs are not a linguistic "minority" by any measure; Urdu is Pakistan's national language and is spoken in all the provinces and is the shared hallmark of the ruling elite nationally, in fact, the common perception—whether well-founded or not—is that Mohajirs are the predominant cultural group in higher bureaucracy, news media, banking and several other fields. In any case, they are not the "underdog" requiring recourse to any fascist

techniques of self-preservation, such as those represented by the torture cells just exposed in Karachi.

The torture cells undoubtedly are a blot on the name of a community as well-educated and sophisticated as the Mohajirs, but fortunately there is no evidence to suggest that the MQM as a whole knew what was happening, still less the great mass of common people—any more than the Soviets knew what Stalin was doing or the Germans, what means Hitler was using to stay in power. The deployment of terror by those grabbing power through a military coup is understandable, though not forgivable, but recourse to coercion by popularly elected leaders is harder to comprehend; and yet that is common enough. Initially, Stalin led a popular party in U.S.S.R. and Hitler had been elected to power by German vote and Mussolini welcomed to Rome, all as exponents of popular causes; but they found the pinnacle of power so heady that they wanted to hold on there forever at all costs and would not hesitate to knock down any one seen as seeking to replace them at the top. Stalin's KGB, Hitler's storm-troopers and Mussolini's "black shirts" were all instruments of self-perpetuation, even though each one of them invoked national interest to justify liquidation of all opposition.

Unfortunately, organisers of political parties in Pakistan, especially over the last quarter of a century, have tended to draw their inspiration from pre-World War II Central or Eastern Europe rather than the U.K. or the United States—many prescribing "Mein Kampf" as required reading for the party top brass—and refused to submit themselves to polls within the party or tolerate any dissent. PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] founding father, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto [ZAB] employed the Federal Security Force under Masood Mahmud to bump off his political opponents and the MQM-architect Mr. Altaf Hussain reportedly has utilised party goons under Vice-Chairman Salim Shahzad to liquidate anyone daring to challenge the party boss. The irony lies in the fact that both Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Altaf Hussain were so immensely popular that neither needed resort to any questionable means to stay in power; it is their bid to seek "double insurance" to pacify inner insecurity that has proved their undoing.

However, just as the sins committed by ZAB have not been revisited on PPP, still less the Sindhis, the tactics employed by Mr. Altaf Hussain should not be blamed on MQM as a political party and certainly not on the Mohajir community as a whole. Experts say the MQM will have to make a fresh start without Altaf Bhai and extremists like Salim Shahzad and his associates connected with torture cells and street goons collecting taxes from the rank and file.

The plea that the torturing was restricted to MQM dissidents and a few non-Mohajirs were given the third degree is neither factually correct nor morally acceptable. Actually it is a "sick" argument. Even if all the victims were to personally pardon the crime, it would still be cognisable, for it is an offence against society not

compoundable by individuals. Those of us who have inspected the torture cells at the Lines Area and Landhi and elsewhere and examined the instruments of torture like drill-machines to drill holes through the human knee, plyers to pull out the big-toe-nails, or acid to pour over raw wounds, or nooses to strangle victims with, shudder at the thought of what man can do to man.

That MQM's rival groups did the same is no excuse; two wrongs don't make a right. But that is not to say that both sides should be exposed and both punished with equal firmness. Already there are welcome reports that the security forces have begun to crackdown on Punjabi-Pakhtun Ittehad (PPI) and Al-Zulfiqar activists in Karachi and elsewhere, unearthing their torture cells and their caches of arms. The latest newspapers stories speak of law enforcement operations at the Sindh, Mehran and Agriculture universities and the Medical College in Hyderabad, Tando Jam and Jamshoro—to supplement the massive army action against dacoits, abductors and ransom-seekers that has been under way deep in the interior of Sindh for close on eight weeks.

It is regrettable that the story has not been featured in the Karachi Press the way it should have been, but those of us who have travelled extensively in the province have returned home profoundly impressed with the ruthless efficiency with which the army is cracking down on crime in Sindh. The army operations already has achieved commendable results: combing the steaming jungle on both sides of the Indus and the stony deserts extending to the Kirthar foothills, it has killed over 100 of the most vicious dacoits carrying prices on their heads up to Rs [Rupees] 10 lakh each, and grabbed many more of them.

Independent evidence of the success of the operation is provided by four verifiable facts. One, unescorted night traffic has been restored on the Grand Trunk Road and other highways; two, the overall crime rate has fallen. Three, the big dacoit-gangs have shattered or fragmented under the hammer blows struck by the security forces; and four, relieved of the fear of reprisals, the common people are feeling confident enough to come forward to volunteer information about the movement and hide-outs of dacoits, thereby vastly facilitating the cleanup operation.

The view that the army is avoiding laying hands on the big fish is not entirely correct. During our tour, we learnt of an army contingent raiding the 'keti' of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and taking away scores of suspects. The Karachi Press already has published the news of the forfeiture of the property of Bhutto's son (declared absconding) on charge of involvement in the abduction of Karachi business magnate Abdullah Dadabhoy.

The charge that no "big names" have come in from the interior is met with the equally valid counter-arguments that Karachi too has failed so far to yield any big-name catch. While there can be no "catch"-by-"catch" parity,

there is little doubt that by and large, the army has maintained a fair measure of even-handedness.

The army's declared policy of even-handedness is further bolstered by the Nawaz Sharif government's political self-interest in retaining the support of the MQM as a political ally both in the province and at the Centre, and this is proved by its reluctance to accept the resignations of MQM MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and the Prime Minister's insistence on retaining MQM minister Islam Nabi in his cabinet.

Irrespective of whether the MQM can be won back by Nawaz Sharif or not, Mohajirs constitute such a vital part of the body politic that the nation has to take calmly, wisely and collectively, critical decisions on the future shape of things. The first decision to be taken by the Mohajirs is whether even after the general recognition of their status as a distinct "nationality," do they wish to continue to operate as a "threatened minority" or are now prepared to join the mainstream of national politics, in the manner of other smaller regions of Pakistan such as Balochistan or NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]?

A related issue is: whether Mohajirs would offer to overhaul the MQM under a new leadership, shedding its fascist character and denouncing its torture-cell heritage; or whether they would opt for a clash with the army and/or the government.

The question that the nation's current policymakers on their part would need to handle is: whether they would be willing to allay constitutionally and administratively the legitimate fears of the nervous minorities in order to enable them to feel more secure and comfortable. This should envisage an agreed formula on devolution of authority in Pakistan—in keeping with the latest global trend favoured by political scientists.

More specifically, it would entail investing the country's major municipalities or corporations with wider powers than they enjoy at present—for instance power to levy specified taxes to raise more funds for themselves, more say in maintenance of law and order, greater role in economic development—maybe conferring on the Lord Mayors the status of provincial ministers.

Perhaps a beginning can be made with the popularly elected corporations of Karachi and Hyderabad; Lahore, Multan and Faisalabad; Peshawar and Quetta—each encompassing a big chunk of the populace. We would find the idea more acceptable if we bear in mind the fact that Karachi's whopping population of 10 million or Lahore's of eight million is larger than some of the states that are currently members of the United Nations. World experts hold that generous devolution of authority can help abort many threats in the making, and such farsighted devolution in case of Karachi could stave off tragedy.

PPP Next Target

92AS1448C Karachi DAWN in English 30 Jul 92 p 11

[Article by M. Fazal Imam: "Where Are We Heading"]

[Text] The July 20 briefing at the GHQ [General Headquarters], attended by the President, the Prime Minister and the army chief, besides many other high-ups in the civilian and military leadership, has set the stage for an entirely new phase of the Operation Clean-up in Sindh. It is time to evaluate the shape of things to come in the province and the country.

Army's stated intentions are unexceptionable. There is no reason to doubt them. Let us, however, look at what has happened to the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement]. The trouble for the MQM began with its dissidents resorting to violence against them, in spite of the full deployment of the army and other law enforcement agencies in the city. This implied support and encouragement for the dissidents, despite routine denials, did not go unnoticed.

There were other signs of collusion between the dissidents and the law enforcement agencies. There were raids by the army on MQM headquarters and other offices. The dissidents tried to take over sectoral offices of the MQM by force. Numerous FIRs [First Information Report] were registered against the MQM leaders and those included some against Mr. Altaf Hussain.

The MQM could no longer rely on assurances that MQM-bashing is not in progress. All MQM ministers at the Centre and in Sindh and all its MNAs [members of National Assembly] and MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly], barring a few, resigned. Its leaders, and even many in its ranks and file, went into hiding. When persons like the Mayor of Karachi and the Speaker of the Sindh Assembly feel insecure (now common to all MQM leaders), this cannot be attributed to some kind of motiveless malignancy.

The situation has been dramatised by the sight of an MQM MPA coming to the Assembly in the company of two dissidents. He was trembling when he declared that he was with the government. His wife, in another room, was telling all those who were willing to listen to her that he was not with the government and was kidnapped by armed men. The government later said that a contingent of law enforcement agencies had been sent to his house to provide him "protection" and that he came to the Assembly "without duress."

The dissidents have taken on the label of MQM (Haqiqi). They have now replaced the MQM as a coalition partner in Sindh government. The Chief Minister has said MQM leader Altaf Hussain would be arrested if he returned from London.

A discussion of the MQM case is in order because it is the only party in Sindh, apart from the PPP [Pakistan

People's Party], which has vindicated its claim to popular support more than once (1988 & 1990), in elections to the assemblies and the local bodies.

The Jam group, which supports Sindh government, consists mostly of independents and its electoral credibility (as a group) will remain debatable until after next election.

With the history of its not-too-happy relationship with the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], the Muslim League and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the PPP cannot hope to fare better than the MQM, which has been an ally and a partner in the ruling coalition.

There are already dark clouds on the horizon. A federal minister has spoken of a list of persons who are considered to be Patharidars, terrorists, etc. Most of these, according to him, belong to the PPP, including Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the husband of Ms Benazir Bhutto. On July 20 it was decided to defer the arrest of the 72 people on the military's most wanted list. But this decision may change to suit circumstances of successive stages of the clean-up.

Jam Sadiq Ali had predicted the sternest measures against the PPP and its leaders for involvement in the activities of Al-Zulfiqar. The army spokesmen have been consistently describing the AZO [Al-Zulfiqar Organization] as an increasing menace in the province, but have stopped short of directly linking it to any party. It was agreed on July 20 that all the 592 AZO men on the military's list should be arrested.

The army is said to be of opinion that the AZO has no link with the PPP, but this perception may change. The Prime Minister in his recent statements has openly declared that "the PPP has been patronising the AZO." One of the closest political aides, the Interior Minister, has dispelled army's impression about the PPP. He has said (July 21): "AZO has had always the support of the PPP. Ms Benazir Bhutto and Begum Nusrat Bhutto have been in touch with Murtaza Bhutto and have been continually issuing directives to the AZO."

The implications of these statements are clear. The PPP may be hit harder than the MQM. So the only parties which manifestly have popular mass support in Sindh could at some stage face intensive attack by the State's coercive apparatus. That will lead to alienation of the people in both the rural and urban areas. There will be an outflow into the other provinces, specially Punjab. The PPP has support in all the provinces.

In another context, the PPP has announced that its MNAs and MPAs will soon resign en masse. It will also organise rallies. Amidst these ominous rumblings, nobody knows what will happen when the storm bursts.

Government's repeated assurances that the operation is not, and will not be, targeting any political party or group miss two important points:

1. In human affairs both intentions and the effect have a bearing. But at the end of the day, it is the effect that counts. If you take cyanide with the best of intentions—with the firm belief and fervent hope of its being an elixir of life—the effect is just the same: instant death. In many other cases, intentions may change, not the effect.

2. There are certain predictable trends of compulsive human behaviour. When someone dies or is in distress it would be naive to expect his relatives to relax and do nothing. You have to talk to the parents, brothers, sisters, party members and friends, (including a federal minister), of Mr. Yousaf Jakhriani, who died in law enforcement agencies' custody, to know how they feel about what is happening. This can be multiplied by thousands in the case of PPP members and its supporters among the people when the party and its leaders are seen to be under attack from the State apparatus.

All this makes it necessary for the army to tiptoe along the political landmines with care and caution.

A most prestigious national daily has commented recently:

"The mere accretion of power, however, means nothing. If power is not to degenerate into injustice and excesses, it must be exercised judiciously. The wider the extent of the army's policing powers the greater becomes its responsibility to guard against arbitrariness."

These words should attract the attention they deserve from the military and civilian leaders.

Army Facing No-Win Situation

92AS1448D Karachi DAWN in English 5 Aug 92 p 9

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "A Many-Layered Dilemma"; quotation marks, italicized words as published]

[Text] Army faces an onion-like dilemma over its Sindh operations. It is actually floundering and the problems seem to be beyond its capacity to tackle. It was a mistake to have undertaken the kind of clean-up it did. It would be better for it to put its act together and beat a retreat before it sinks inextricably into the quagmire that Sindh is.

Army generals should now be asking themselves hard questions: 'What have we achieved in more than a month in Karachi and Hyderabad and over two months against dacoits, kidnappers and *patharidars* in the countryside?' There are the statistics of the arrested, arms seized, dacoits killed and gangs busted. The outlook after another four months would still seem to be the same statistics but with increased numbers. Would that be the eradication of heinous crimes? The hard answer is 'no.' More men arrested do not necessarily mean reduced crime: remember Tando Bahawal and Shah Bander cases. This is superficially the main dilemma.

The second layer of dilemma is special powers for army personnel. Top civilian authority was unwilling to concede the unarticulated but clearly understood demand for invoking the Constitution's Article 245.

The federal government, after weeks, agreed to Article 147 instead. The generals soon asked for more powers: again after a protracted struggle the Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) was amended. Would they be satisfied with powers to arrest, detain, interrogate and prosecute suspects and indemnity for all these actions?

Many say the generals cannot be satisfied with even these powers. Can their lower ranks cope with doing paperwork like SHOs [Station House Officers] and police prosecutors and perform administrative-cum-judicial duties of prosecution in civilian courts, facing lawyers' cross-examination or answering magistrates' and judges' questions. The Law Ministry had to deny symptomatic reports that it was drafting an Ordinance for setting up summary military courts at divisional level. It seems that speculation concerned the government's effort not to agree to Article 245. Can it go on ignoring the desire for Article 245? The purpose now can only be to make the desired military courts unaccountable to superior courts—so that desired sentences could be obtained without fear of High Courts' scruples.

Article 245 simply means defanging the superior judiciary: no writ jurisdiction for the High Court for enforcing the citizen's fundamental rights. It is clear that civilian authorities do not wish to hand over the province, with provincial government remaining in name only and citizens being deprived of some of their fundamental rights. Should the generals continue pressing for all they want or forego setting things really right in Sindh? That is the real conundrum.

Next question is: what is to be done about the suspects on army's lists who happen to be members of the legislature(s) or government? If the army arrests them, what happens to the government itself, let alone its moral authority (already nearly absent)?

The question involves the dynamics of power politics, if nothing more. The provincial government's reconstitution, if not dismissal, may suggest itself to the generals. Anyhow, ramifications of arresting ministers for suspected crimes are sure to reach far. Many may have their careers threatened. Can the linkages' climb upward be arrested? Isn't it a dilemma?

Regrettable and evil as many things in Sindh are, it is not for the army to set them right. If it tries to correct every wrong, it will only sink deeper into the morass of high-stake and high-level, indeed governmental, wrongdoing. The generals are a subordinate organ of the government structure that is kept insulated against involvement in politics. Let it remain so. Corruption elsewhere had better be left alone. The system incorporates its own corrective mechanism. It has to be permitted freedom, scope and time.

It is generally realised that civilian authorities cannot refuse if the generals do make the demand about Article 245. But getting these powers can turn out to be big trouble, in the case of prominent suspects: legislators, leaders of parties, ministers or others of the kind. It would *ipso facto* lead to ever deeper involvement of generals into making and unmaking of governments. In the likely ambience of abridged fundamental rights and military court sentences not being appealable, popular perceptions will record a martial law. Can Pakistan Army afford that?

The army is already facing several conundrums: one is over acquiescing in what looks uncommonly like the provincial government's ongoing skulduggery to rig up an over-55-member support in the Assembly.

Should it oppose it? Similarly, action against the MQM has thrown up other strange questions. If Mr. Altaf Hussain is so bad, including being a RAW [Research and Analysis Wing] agent, and if the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] is not to be destroyed or Urdu-speakers not to be alienated, a new leadership has to be found for the MQM. Who would do that? Would it click? What if it is laughed or chased out by the MQM ranks and file? Should the army have a grand design to replace President Ishaq's reputed one for Sindh? If so, and its actions in Karachi seem to confirm it, is how would a conflict with civil authorities be avoided?

Down this road lie unending troubles for the country—because some general or other, faced with the government's perceived cupidity, might feel impelled to take over as the next step after failing to eliminate crime. And that means progressive loss of national unity and unravelling of the country's integrity and security. The army has to beware. Costs of another military dictatorship include the continuance of the miasma of a politics that has been criminalised and criminals who have become politicised—this time more than in 1977-85.

Some political moves, said to be afoot, may lead to a bigger malaise. A small group in the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has been busy negotiating a deal with the army and some progress may have been made. One shudders at what may lie ahead: a much deeper involvement of generals in power politics and changing governments without an open takeover. A PPP-army understanding may possibly do a little good. But it will also intensify the longer-term evil that generals' involvement in politics creates.

The Sindh situation, the starting point, should, however, remain in focus. This province has been politically abused by the unchanging ruling elite, with its deliberate divide-and-rule policy, since 1950s. Later, Gen Zia-ul-Haq's contribution—the great ethnic divide between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking sections—has to be undone. Heinous crime and the rise of what are militias, helped by kalashnikov and heroin culture—being the handiwork of the last military regime, call for a healing touch

through reconciliation between major ethnic communities. These tasks do not require the army with its drive for Article 245 powers; it is for the estranged 'communities' to engage in direct dialogue and effect a rapprochement to make democracy genuine.

Information Ministry Condemned as Tool of Government

92AS1475E Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 4 Aug 92 p 10

[Editorial by I.A. Rehman: "Time To Abolish Information Ministry"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The prime minister is reported to be extremely annoyed with the official information machinery. The executives of radio and TV corporations have been axed, the PID [Press Information Department] has been dethroned, and Press Attaches serving abroad are being recalled.

Most, if not all of them, have apparently been made to pay for acts of commission and omission for which the information minister and, possibly, the prime minister himself were responsible. Surprising that a government, which can think of privatising the Central Board of Revenue (possibly because of the word 'revenue' in its name), has not considered removal of the information ministry's inefficiency by privatising it.

However, even if the information paraphernalia is not a money-making machine that can attract establishment-friendly entrepreneurs, a case can be made out for the abolition of the information ministry, in the interest of the people and for the sake of a healthier government.

The prime minister is obviously unhappy that the information set-up has failed to project a satisfactory (to himself) image of the government. His reaction confirms the standing public grievance that the official information network—the TV, the radio, the Press Information Department et al.—is not meant to inform the people its job is to give the government a better image than what is perceived by the common man.

The argument cuts at the root of democracy. Any device used to convince the people that their government is more energetic, more responsible, more dedicated to public interest than they find it through their day-to-day experience represents an attempt to control their minds, to interfere with their own assessment of its functioning and its claim to continue in power.

Countries like Pakistan, where governments have tended to rely excessively on information services, derive their justification from dictatorial or revolutionary regimes. Both these forms of government represent the rule of a minority which needs to convert the majority to its vision of life or at least to keep it quiescent with evidence of service to its interests.

One does not have to delve into the practices of fascist or socialist states or the regimes set up by third world revolutionaries to realise the magnitude of the role assigned to official image-makers, in some cases the only image-makers allowed in the field. We have not forgotten how much Field Marshal Ayub Khan relied on his portrait-makers and to what extent the durability of the Zia regime was attributed to the effectiveness of its information weapon. But in a democracy governments are supposed neither to indoctrinate the masses nor to impose privileged information agencies on a free and private media. Since democracy is said to have struck firm roots in Pakistan there is no need for the information ministry.

Apart from theoretical incompatibility between a thought-control apparatus and the people's right to undoctored information, it can be shown that everything that the information ministry does should either not be done at all or it can be better done by somebody else.

The most important task of the information ministry is to run the TV and radio corporations. The case for freeing these corporations of official control has been argued so many times, and so thoroughly, that it need not be restated. Official control of the electronic media is now universally accepted as undemocratic and it must be dismantled. If these agencies cannot be privatised they must at least be made autonomous organisations run by professionals under parliamentary control. The government need not be afraid that autonomous TV and radio will not give them time. They will have to, because after all the government is the biggest news-maker in the country as well as the source of most of the sensational stuff, including rumours.

The government elite, i.e. ministers, et cetera may apprehend loss of stardom opportunities. Such fears can be allayed. What the ministers do will perhaps always make news, only all of their sayings may not be found reportable. That will be to their good for the more they speak the lower their credibility level falls.

An over-rated responsibility of the information ministry is regulation of press affairs. The task of disciplining the press by demanding securities, issuing warnings, seizing the press, et cetera, has not been assigned to the information ministry. All that is handled by the interior ministry and home departments and their abolition is not being demanded—for the time being, what the information ministry is supposed to do in relation to the press has largely becoming unnecessary. Declarations can be granted by district magistrates, the import of newsprint and other printing materials falls in the jurisdiction of commerce ministry, and audit of circulation can be assigned to a press council (on the pattern of bar council, medical council, et cetera). There is no danger that press council formed by existing industry will work against the interest of the government. The press has become quite wise.

The information ministry used to have a department of films and publications, probably it still has. It can easily be wound up. Television has made it largely redundant, it shows the foreign visits of the prime minister live while DFP [Directorate of Films and Publications] produced newsreels after long delays.

In any case, if the government wishes to produce a documentary film or to publish a volume of the latest sayings of the prime minister, the task can be performed by private producers/publishers/printers. The old system was inherently flawed. A moribund organisation of generalists was supposed to deal with the diverse demands of the different branches of government. It ought to be replaced by a system in which the commerce ministry, for instance, can have its publicity material prepared by private specialist in the field. This arrangement will please all ministries, autonomous bodies, et cetera.

One large function of the information ministry is to provide publicity-makers for Pakistan's missions abroad and for the government at home. Since it is impossible to presume that ambassadors can do without their press attaches or ministers without their information/public relations officers, these posts cannot be abolished. However, external publicity can be passed on to the foreign office and an old wound allowed to heal. After all, the foreign office is supposed to know what kind of the country's projection should be done abroad and how.

The position regarding domestic publicity is not clear. It is difficult to find an earthly reason why the president, the prime minister and ministers should have information officers attached to them. They address the public directly on countless occasions. If they have to make a policy speech or give advice on the methods of cultivating sugarcane, for instance, the material is provided by the concerned department or agency.

In the past, when departments/agencies did not have reliable scribes, information men/women were called in to give their notes a literary veneer or to put them in an intelligible language. These qualities are no longer in evidence in the pronouncements of the modern nobility and are perhaps not required now. Thus, the material for the addresses of president, prime minister and minister can come from the department concerned.

Even if the presence of information offices in the presidency, the PM [prime minister] house, and at the various ministries is considered necessary for preparing press notes and handouts, such posts can be made part of the ministries'/departments' regular outfit.

There are reasons to believe that the president and the PM will be happier if they were not obliged to depend on the information ministry for their image-makers and could buy talent wherever they found it. This will have the advantage of forcing information officers to concentrate on their own areas of concern and specialising in the affairs of the ministry/department to which they are attached.

Sometimes the information ministry is supposed to advise the government as to who from among the journalist community should Pakistan's leaders on their junkets abroad. This procedure was devised when such leaders did not know journalists and it deserves to be discarded. Everybody in power now has his own image-makers in the media.

The abolition of the information ministry is warranted not only on the grounds of its having become redundant, the prime minister will find life easier once this load has been shed. He won't have to listen to complaints from one friend/associate or another that he has not received due attention from the TV or that a lesser figure has monopolised the magic box.

There are two issues that will have to be tackled before the information monster is laid to rest. First, what will happen to the people belonging to the information service. This is no problem. The service should stay so long as other services do. All members of the information service (and new entrants to it) can be put in a pool (of the requisite form and depth) under the cabinet/establishment division, wherever there are more officials than needed, and the foreign office and the ministries could draw their requirements from it. Thus, the information service members will be released from the information ministry's cage and will be free to test their wings in more hospitable environs.

The second issue concerns, the future of the information minister. That, too, is no problem. It is unfair to assume that Laleka is in the cabinet because he is an expert on information only.

Maybe he knows about other things more than he does about information. He could well be assigned the task of MQM's [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] rehabilitation. If nothing else, the rural health clubs have long been in need of a strong-armed minister.

PML Apprehensive of Premature LB Polls in Hazara

92AS1425E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 4

[Article by Obaidur Rehman Abbasi: "LB (Local Bodies) Polls May Expose PML (Pakistan Muslim League) in Hazara"]

[Text] Abbottabad, Aug 4: Although the Frontier government bowing to the public pressure had announced that next local bodies elections would be held before November this year yet most of the PML leaders in general and elected representatives in particular fear that the crises-ridden PML Hazara would face a definite defeat in the forthcoming LB polls. They apprehend people who had supported PML in general elections had already expressed their feelings against PML by leaving the party and joining hands with ANP [Awami National Party] and other groups.

These PML legislators while talking to THE MUSLIM at various functions has expressed that although PML enjoys strong government in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] yet it never supported PML workers or leaders during its tenure and instead openly given more importance to ANP and other independent groups. "You can easily quote example of resignation of Ali Afzal Khan, provincial minister for law from the district organisership", one of the legislators remarked. These leaders were of the view that no solid work for betterment of the PML has so far been carried on by the provincial high-ups who had, according to these sources only interested in other affairs.

Interestingly some of top PML leaders like Malang Khan of Batagram has already left the PML bloc and has joined either ANP or independent groups in Hazara. Moreover as many as 14 ex-legislators including five ex-ministers and one PML (J) ex-secretary general had already formed an independent group and were now ready to join any other political party but PML.

It is worth mentioning here that there was no strong PML group in entire Hazara division and the PML legislators had only opened PML offices at their premises which only function when they return from Islamabad or Peshawar. Similarly PML leaders even could not hold any particular PML meeting in Abbottabad which could have indicated the PML programme.

Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Abbasi, Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs who hails from Abbottabad, while addressing newsmen here at Abbottabad Press Club the other day admitted that PML could not do anything in Hazara during the last 21 months and that people were fed up with the present leadership. Although the Federal Minister did not point out the particular figure but he had hinted that provincial high-ups of the PML were not interested in improving the party's status.

A PML MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] who hold an important portfolio in Mir Afzal's cabinet while pleading anonymity told this correspondent that they were interested in delaying the LB elections because they think the election results would expose PML in Hazara Division.

Meanwhile, the provincial PML general secretary Haji Mohammad Javed, Provincial Minister for Information reached here on a week-long visit to Hazara. Although nothing has so far been officially announced but sources close to Haji Sahib told this correspondent that PML reorganisation and political scenario before local bodies polls would be the top priority of the minister.

Political observers were of the view that LB polls would decide the fate of the PML in Hazara Division.

Sectarianism Said Foreign to True Islam

92AS1416B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
4 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "Sectarianism Can Be Controlled"; italicized words as published]

[Text] The sectarian violence on the 10th of Muharran in Peshawar, in which nine people were killed, once again reminds us about the urgency of sectarian harmony in Pakistan. It demonstrates that the Governmental measures to weed out the menace of sectarianism from Pakistan will ever remain futile as long as the people of Pakistan are not determined to eliminate sectarianism from amongst themselves through education and persuasion.

In fact, no government in the world can affect any social change without the help of those immediately concerned. Even the army cannot maintain sectarian harmony on a permanent basis. At the most their help is only a temporary palliative. The mutual acrimonies continue to simmer and on the slightest of provocation again flare up claiming precious lives and the properties of innocent people. This is exactly what is happening in Pakistan, and will continue to happen if something tangible is not done by the government and the people of Pakistan.

The time has come when we should try to eliminate the menace of sectarianism from our rank and file. Let the government do whatever it can for the same purpose. The best method to effect it is by spreading of true Islamic education, which favours divergence of opinion for its evolutionary progress. The basis of sectarianism is bigotry, and it is the cramped and self-styled religious education which begets bigotry. The history of sectarianism in the West testifies to this and it is equally true in our own country.

For some the adoption of secularism is the best answer to eradicate the scourge of religious fanaticism from our society. These people contend that only when the West adopted secularism, it was able to control religious chauvinism. But this is not the right answer, for the ideology of Pakistan is Islam. They perhaps don't realise that it was not the spread of secularism in the Western countries which enabled them to eliminate religious fanaticism from their societies. Rather it was more due to the dissemination of liberal religious education and enlightenment in the Western countries that made them tolerant. This is precisely what we have to do in Pakistan without any prejudice to the fundamentals of Islam. There is enough latitude in the liberal teachings of Islam.

However, the task to educate the common religious man in Pakistan on these lines is very onerous, since he is regularly reminded of his belonging to a particular sect. Our society, our so-called liberal institutions and religious *maktabs* are just doing the opposite. The religious education in our educational institutions is confined to clichés and hackneyed verbosity. Various social organisations and institutions in Pakistan who could have

spread religious toleration hardly care about their responsibilities. Although they brag about their social responsibilities season out and season in. It is also not correct to contend that our media is liberal because it does not project religious differences of Islamic sects. Even if some institutions or religious leaders do not prejudice the religious feelings of the different sects, the mere fact that they are not doing enough to suffuse religious forbearance, they are also vicariously responsible for the religious fanaticism in our country.

Our media as a whole has tried to remain aloof from discussing the religious differences of Islamic sects. As far as we know there has not been a worthwhile programme from the official pulpit or from the private sector on religious toleration for the last so many years. And whatever they project in the name of religious toleration is merely rhetoric. The need is to prove it substantially. And there is more than enough evidence in the past and the present Islamic history to prove it so.

Is it not a fact that there was an all-round toleration in the pristine glory of Islam? All the religious mentors of different Islamic sects were in harmony with one another. How many of our famous religious scholars have worked on these lines? Only a few, and whatever research they have made into this matter is readable only by the highly educated. The crying need is to make it available to the common religious man in the street also, who takes active part in sectarian violence.

The situation of our religious schools and *maktabs*, from which our conservative religious teachers and leaders get their formal education is even worse. Their syllabi are outmoded and their method of teaching is cramped and monotonous. Most of these religious institutions of Pakistan are dinning into the receptive ears of their students a systematic hatred for the rest of the Islamic sects.

The intellectual curiosity which is the hallmark of Islam, is an anathema in these institutions. Divergence of opinion in any Islamic community is a healthy sign of its progress. One wonders which type of religious education our nation is getting at these and other institutions. In fact the whole nation is responsible for religious fanaticism directly or indirectly. It is the duty of every person in Pakistan to shun religious extremism in his private and public duties.

In the pristine glory of Islam, the religious and political differences amongst the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) were more contentious. Yet that excelsior community prospered in the right direction at an enormous speed. The reasons were obvious, those Muslims solved their political and religious differences through reasoning and persuasion and not through force or violence. They always kept the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) before them which admonishes the Muslims to seek their best through consultation.

Of all our national leaders and great religious divines, there were only a few who have attended any of these

conservative religious institutions. Rather most of them were self-educated. The creation of Pakistan, whose principal architects were these leaders and religious scholars, was the triumph of religious toleration over religious parochialism.

These religious institutions are being run on charity funds. What kind of self-respect these institutions are imparting to their pupils is, more often than not, graphically illustrated by them in the streets. It is high time for the Government of Pakistan to take active interest in the working of these religious institutions. Since these are always short of funds, the government should control these institutions financially and administratively, and install in these religious schools liberal and highly-educated religious scholars. Otherwise it is feared that those foundations of hatred for the opponent sects will continue to supply religious fanatics to mar our national life. Let's not be complacent on the ever-rising graph of

violent sectarian strife in our country. It has been one of the major causes of the downfall of the Islamic Ummah, and is cutting it asunder.

But even liberal education and persuasion will have failed in its objectives as long as the entire nation is not serious in implementing Islam. It is our failure in meeting even the minimum standards of the Islamic way of life, which is making the common religious man frustrated. Normally, we need the religious teacher only when we want him to officiate some religious ceremony, e.g., marriage, birth rites and funeral obsequies. It is only on these and other similar occasions when we have any meaningful social intercourse with them. For the rest of our lives, we hardly need them, and hence it has bred in them an inferiority complex which as a normal psychological rule it tries to shed by resorting to superiority complex vis-a-vis the entire nation. It is precisely this complex which compels them to look down upon their religious opponents as outside the pale of Islam. Let's make them a part and parcel of our lives.

Government Economic Statement Termed 'Propaganda'

92AS1536C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Aug 92 p 3

[Editorial: "Government's Economic Propaganda"]

[Text] The government has presented a satisfactory picture of our nation's economy through an economic survey. However, everyone in our country knows the situation of our country's business, industries, and agriculture sectors is not satisfactory. It is not surprising either, since we have to bear the results of faulty economic planning of many years. Even major nations at international levels are suffering from economic crises these days, and economic problems of a country like ours are understandable. We cannot complain about these economic problems, however, the people are concerned that just like the previous governments, this government is also using false statistics for false propaganda about an improved economy. In other countries, facts are shared with the people and nothing is hidden from them. Facts cannot be hidden when there is a strong press. In addition, expert plans are made proactively or in a timely manner to tackle the problems. Opposed to it, our governments bury their necks like ostriches in the sand and then lie to the people. As for its plans, some temporary measures are taken or a lot of announcements are made under a propaganda scheme or some plans simply for show are implemented to earn some praise. At present, the situation is like this. India has devalued its currency and it is hurting our exports, especially textiles exports. In addition, the major countries where we sell our products are suffering from a slump in the market. The BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] fiasco has effected our credibility and Pakistanis as well as Pakistani goods are not as highly regarded as in the past. Unemployment is on the rise and the people who are employed are finding it difficult to maintain their former living standards. Not only the textiles industry, but also leather goods, chemicals, and ceramic industries are suffering. These are our major industries. Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz claims that our economy has improved when compared with the Benazir era. According to him, during 1991-92 there has been an increase of 7.7 percent in manufactured goods, a 6.3-percent increase in exports, and a 5.6-percent increase in the GDP [gross domestic product]. He says that there has been an increase of 39 percent in personal investments. He also refers to the increased activities in the stock market as proof to support his claim. However, there is another side to it. According to World Bank officials there has been a 20-percent inflation rate while the government says it was only 10-percent. Another problem is that with the arrival of automatic machinery we will have to reduce work forces everywhere, and this will result in more unemployment. Increased smuggling and imports is also effecting our industries. The accusation of the PPP NA [Pakistan People's Party National Assembly] member Salman Taseer's response to the finance minister is important in that he said that the government has used up the foreign currency that people

deposited in their accounts. There could be a serious situation if this foreign currency is not returned to its original account holders. Referring to privatization, he said that rules have changed at various times to benefit various political parties. During 1991-92, there was an increase of 56 percent in our trade deficit and an increase of 11 percent in exports is being claimed. However, imports have increased by 20 percent and there has been no new foreign investments. If there is any investment, it is by industrialists buying new industries under the privatization scheme. They are using the money earned here and not bringing in any new money. Everyone is aware of the price increases. The price of flour has increased from 3 rupees to 5 rupees, sugar from 10 rupees to 12 rupees, and ghee has risen from 18 rupees to 26 rupees per kg. There will be still more increases in these prices. Mr. Salman Taseer has not said enough. The story about our government's dishonesty and corruption is very long. The economic situation is definitely not good and the efforts to give a distorted picture of it has further effected the people. The truth is that the people and the government both have to work hard for a long time to improve our economy, and the situation can be countered only with patience and hard work. We need political stability, trust, and cooperation for this effort. We do not just make plans, we need honest and expert implementation, and we lack these elements. This deficiency cannot be made up by issuing nice sounding statements, by lying through statistics, and by false propagandizing.

Economist Outlines Global, Regional Challenges

92AS1495B Lahore THE NATION in English
16 Aug 92 p 9

[Article by Dr. Mahbubul Haq, former finance minister:
"New Global Challenges and Pakistan"]

[Text] Since 1990 UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) has sponsored three annual Human Development Reports. The central thesis of these reports is that it is people who matter—beyond the confusing maze of GNP [gross national product] numbers, beyond the curing smoke of industrial chimneys, beyond the endless fascination with budget deficits and balance of payments crises—it is people who matter. Income is obviously essential but it is not the sum-total of human life. Production processes are indispensable but they cannot be allowed to obscure human lives.

The 1990 Report demonstrated that it was not only the income level of a society that mattered but how well that income had been translated into human lives. Costa Rica has a per capita income only one-third of Oman but its literacy rate is three times higher, its life expectancy is ten years longer, and its people enjoy a wide range of economic, social and political freedoms. Pakistan enjoys the same per capita income as Sri Lanka and China, yet adult literacy rate is 88 percent in Sri Lanka and 73 percent in China compared to 35 percent in Pakistan. Further, people live about 13 years longer in those two

countries than in Pakistan. Pakistan's infant mortality rate is four times that of China and Sri Lanka.

The 1991 Report argued that most developing countries could finance their essential human goals if they had the political will to lower their current military expenditures, privatise their inefficient public enterprises, correct their distorted development priorities, and improve their national governance. In fact, the developing countries could fund as much as U.S.\$50 billion a year more for meeting their human development aspirations through a sensible restructuring of their budget priorities. If Pakistan and India were to freeze their military expenditure at their current level during 1990s, they would reap a potential peace dividend of U.S.\$50 billion during the current decade. This amount would be enough to put all their children in schools, provide primary health care and clean drinking water to everyone, and banish malnutrition by the year 2000.

The 1992 Report takes the development dialogue a step further and puts people in a global setting. Its central thesis is that the search for equitable access to market opportunities must extend beyond national borders to the global system as well; otherwise economic disparities between the richest and the poorest people are likely to explode.

For the first time, the Report studies the income level of people—not just nations—in a global setting. It concludes that income disparity between the richest one billion and the poorest one billion people has doubled over the last three decades and reached by now a dangerously high level of 150 times. To put it in perspective, the income disparity between the richest 20 percent and the poorest 20 percent of the people within nations is far smaller—five times in Sweden, six times in Germany, nine times in the United States and 26 times (the highest) in Brazil. What would be considered politically and socially unacceptable within nations is being quietly tolerated at the global level.

There appears no end in sight for these widening gaps which are not only in current levels of income but also in future market opportunities and in higher levels of human development. While the bottom 20 percent of the world's population receives only 1.4 percent of global GNP, it has also a share of only one percent in global trade, 0.2 percent in global commercial lending and 1.3 percent in global investment. In fact, according to our estimates, global markets are denying as much as \$500 billion of market opportunities to poor nations and poor people every year because of the barriers to the movement of goods and people and because of the four times higher real interest rate that poor nations are paying compared to the rich nations. This estimate of \$500 billion is ten times the foreign assistance the poor nations are getting. The precise numbers are not important. What is important is that the cost of denial of market opportunities far exceeds foreign assistance levels. It is certainly better for the poor to be able to earn their living than to be put on indefinite international

charity. But unless their access to market opportunities is increased, there is little chance for poor people or poor nations to break out of their poverty trap.

The situation looks even more difficult when the widening disparities in higher levels of education, technology and information systems are added to the picture. The tertiary enrollment rate in the South is only one-fifth of the North, research and development expenditure only four percent and scientific and technical personnel only one-ninth. These widening human gaps have a telling impact in a world where technological progress is taking centre stage and where it now accounts for one-third to a half of the increase in national output. The combination of technological disparities and limited market opportunities can be a devastating one.

What can be done about this disturbing situation? The primary responsibility lies, of course, with the developing countries. Global reforms can never substitute for national reforms. The developing countries must improve their economic management, lower their military expenditure, liberate their private initiative and invest in the education of their people and in the technological progress of their societies. The basis for such further advance has already been laid by the rapid strides in basic education and primary health care in most developing countries, as first two Reports of UNDP have demonstrated. The 1992 Report documents the case studies of countries which followed this human investment path to development—Japan, Singapore, South Korea and, more recently, China, Malaysia and Thailand. These countries managed to achieve spectacular increases in their shares of the global markets. The trade doubled between 1970 and 1990, as did that of China. But the share of Sub-Saharan Africa, with a minimal investment in human development, went down to one-fourth of its 1970 level.

While there is a good deal that the developing countries must do, the Report also identifies a fatal contradiction in the global economic system. As national markets open up, from Pakistan to Brazil, from Poland to Russia, can global markets close down further? And yet this is precisely what is happening. The OECD [Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development] nations have become more protectionist in the last decade at a time when additional export surpluses are likely to emerge from the liberalising markets of developing countries and the former socialist bloc. For instance, if Pakistan and India follow the path of South Korea, they will have at least \$70 billion of additional exports to offer to the world markets each year. Where are the markets for these exports?

It does not take a genius to figure out that the ongoing rapid structural adjustment in the South and in the former socialist bloc has a logical corollary—a structural change in the North as well. And yet this is the simple lesson that is being largely ignored at present—sometimes even bitterly contested. Buffeted by recession and unemployment, many Northern economies are

unprepared to invest in changing their own production and job structures, not even recognising that their lack of adjustment will greatly frustrate the liberal market experiments they are encouraging so actively all over the world.

And it is not just the opening of market opportunities. Many poorest nations, particularly in Africa and South Asia, cannot even begin to utilise market opportunities fully without additional financial help. Market efficiency must be balanced by social equity. Even in the market economies of the United States and U.K., about 15 percent of the GNP is recycled in the form of medicare, food stamps, unemployment benefits and social security payments. In Nordic countries, the social safety nets consume roughly one-third of their GNPs. This is the situation in the North where about 100 million people are below the official poverty line of around \$5,000 income a year. But what about the developing world where 1.2 billion people barely survive below an absolute poverty line of about \$500? The rich nations can spare only one-third of one percent of GNP for official development assistance, the closest approximation to an international social safety net.

It is not just the inadequacy and unpredictability of such a social safety net that we may all bemoan. What is even more relevant is whether it is spread under the most deserving people. The Report brings out disturbing patterns of existing aid allocations. Twice as much aid per capita is given to high military spenders among the developing world as to more moderate military spenders. Only a quarter of ODA [Official Development Assistance] is earmarked for the ten countries containing three-fourths of the world's absolute poor. In fact, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh contain nearly one-half of the world's poor but get only one-tenth of total aid. Less than seven percent of global aid is spent on human priority concerns of basic education, primary health care, family planning, safe drinking water and nutritional programmes. Even mighty international institutions like the World Bank and the IMF are now taking more money out of the developing world than they are putting in, adding to the reverse transfer of around \$50 billion a year from the commercial banks.

Casting a dark shadow on this global cooperation is the persistent debt problem of the developing world. The total external debt of developing countries has multiplied thirteen-fold in the last two decades: from \$100 billion in 1970 to over \$1,300 billion in 1990. Each plan to restructure or reduce global debt has led to a further increase in the total amount outstanding. The 1992 Human Development Report recommends a new "global debt bargain" for a "major write-down of debts by official donors and commercial banks as well as by multilateral institutions." These debts should be written down by at least 50 percent on the pattern recently adopted for Poland which, incidentally, has a per capita income four times higher than the average for South Asia. Such a solution will be in the interest of the rich nations themselves as it will liberate the developing

countries from a paralysing debt burden and brighten the chances of an overall expansion of global growth and world trade.

Much of the current pattern of development cooperation was shaped by the anxieties of the Cold War. It is highly politicised. Its link with global poverty or with human development goals is far from clear. There is certainly a need for a new framework of development cooperation focused more directly on people.

Who can persuade the rich nations that it is in their own interest to open up their markets, to find a realistic solution to the growing debt problems, to design a people-centred framework for development cooperation, and to prepare their economic systems for a structural change? Unfortunately, the present international institutions of global governance, supposedly with an international reach, are often confined to an influence only in the poor nations. The IMF's structural adjustment programmes are enforced only in the developing world—responsible for less than ten percent of global liquidity. And as little as seven percent of global trade is at present in conformity with the GATT rules, since textile, agriculture, tropical products, services, intellectual property, trade-related investment flows, etc., are all currently outside the GATT purview and awaiting the outcome of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. The global institutions which we so charitably describe as the international economic system are hardly global in scope. The Report makes a number of proposals to make these institutions truly global in their reach, in their policy frameworks and in their management structures in a world where markets and economic systems are getting rapidly globalised. It is in this spirit that it is suggested that a Development Security Council be set up within the United Nations to provide a manageable forum for global economic policy coordination.

In the coming decade, it will be a major step forward if we begin to recognise the essential link between internal and global issues in terms of people's lives. While there should be a pressure for developing countries to reduce their military expenditures, there should be a similar pressure at the global level for replacing military assistance by economic assistance, phasing out military bases, restraining arms shipments, and eliminating export subsidies for defence industries. While more searchlight should be put on corruption in developing countries, there should be as much accountability for the multinationals which bribe officials and the banks which park the illegal gains of corruption—maybe through a new NGO [Nongovernment Organization], "Honesty International," as 1992 Report proposes. If human rights violations are to be punished within any particular country, can we find a way to punish the rulers by denying them outlets for their corrupt money but still find a suitable means to channel much-needed funds to the people, maybe through NGOs.

If market liberalisation and structural adjustment programmes are vital for the South, can we as readily accept their logical extension to the North?

A New World Order can be built only on justice and shared responsibility. It would be tragic if the end of the Cold War is succeeded by the beginning of a new class

war between rich and poor nations. From mutual recriminations, we must travel towards a constructive global dialogue. The 1992 Report provides a professional basis for such a global dialogue.

Besides discussing the global issues, the Report contains a detailed statistical profile of each country, including Pakistan, from the perspective of human development. (See Table)

International Comparison 1990	Pakistan	South Asia	Developing countries	Industrial countries
Life expectancy (years)	57.7	58.4	62.8	74.5
Adult literacy (% 15+)	35	46	64	—
Years of schooling (25+)	1.9	2.4	3.7	10.0
Prim/Sec enrollment ratio	29	61	72	—
Under 5 mortality rate (per 1,000)	158	148	112	18
GNP per capita (US\$)	370	458	770	17,017
Real GDP per capita (PPP\$)	1,789	1,108	2,296	15,043
Educational expenditure as % GNP	2.6	3.1	3.6	—
Health expenditure as % GNP	0.2	1.0	1.4	—
Military expenditure as % GNP	6.7	4.0	4.4	4.9
Ratio of military, education & health	239	115	169	28

Pakistan has yet to translate the benefits of its high economic growth into the lives of its people. Its adult literacy rate of 35 percent is considerably below the average for developing countries (64 percent). An average adult above 15 years of age has normally spent about half as much time in a school (only 1.9 years) as in most developing countries and about one-sixth as much as in the United States. Infant mortality rate in Pakistan (104 per 1,000 live births) is significantly higher than the average for the developing world (74). Most education, health, nutritional and other social indicators lag behind other developing countries at a comparable stage of per capita income.

Pakistan is currently embarked on a bold experiment in market liberalisation. The success of this experiment will also depend on the investment that is made in the education and health of the people, particularly in technical education and vocational skills. Presently, Pakistan is spending only \$3 per capita per annum on human priority concerns compared to around \$130 in South Korea and Malaysia. Besides, too few students are going for science and technical skills—only 1.6 percent at the secondary level compared to 10 times as high a ratio in South Korea. The technological challenges of the 21st century and widening global market opportunities require a generation brought up on science and technology—in which Pakistan is way behind most other developing countries. As a contrast, it may be mentioned that countries like Malaysia and Costa Rica have already introduced the use of computers in first grades.

Pakistan faces formidable challenges in the field of human development. Its combined expenditure on education and health is only 2.8 percent of the GNP. This level of expenditure needs to be doubled in the next five

years and taken to a level of around ten percent by the year 2000 if Pakistan is to prepare its vast human resources for the challenges of the 21st century. What is more, considerable incentives and facilities must be provided for scientific and technical education. Such a strategy can enable Pakistan to leapfrog several decades of development, as has been the recent experience of East Asia's industrialising tigers. South Korea, for example has been able to increase its labour productivity by 11 percent a year, about half of which was explained by human investment and technological development. Both South Korea and Malaysia have managed an export growth rate of 15 percent a year in their manufactured goods in the last two decades, considerably diversifying their economies. Thailand has increased its labour productivity by 63 percent between 1985-90, largely through a liberal investment in its human development. This is the challenge for Pakistan in the years ahead. A new technological generation has yet to be created to take advantage of the development opportunities in the next century.

Besides building such a technological base, Pakistan also needs to create a vast network of social services for its millions of poor people. The magnitude of human deprivation remains very large, despite some oases of prosperity: 55 million people have no access to safe drinking water or primary health services; 100 million people are deprived of any sanitation service; 37 million people are below the absolute poverty line, with no access to even the very basic needs for human survival; 44 million adults are illiterate, two-thirds of them women; 12 million children under five are severely malnourished. Pakistan needs to balance its market liberalisation policies with social action programmes to provide a decent hope to millions of its poor people. The UNDP is already

assisting Pakistan in the formulation of a human development strategy for the next decade. It is encouraging that a major step is being taken in this direction in the social action programme that Pakistan government recently presented to the Consortium meeting. A national consensus on the future social and human agents is absolutely essential.

Economic Performance Since Independence Viewed

92AS1495A Lahore THE NATION in English
16 Aug 92 p 9

[Editorial: "Economy After 45 Years"]

[Text] To take stock of the economic achievements of Pakistan after it has completed forty-five years seems to be need of the hour considering that we have one of the highest population growth rates in the world, estimated at 3.2 percent; a consistently deteriorating balance of payments position; debt servicing is accounting for more and more of the budgetary expenditure, about a quarter is spent in this way; clean drinking water is available to less than half the population; health facilities are grossly inadequate; energy cannot keep pace with its growing demand and load-shedding has become a feature of our economy. And finally the gap between the incomes of the rich and the poor is widening with time. Part of the problem can be explained away by the fact that successive Pakistani governments have been strapped for cash and their expenditure priorities could not ignore the dominant pressure groups in the country, groups that ensure more than their adequate share in budgetary allocations. But part of the problem is also due to the policies favoured by our governments, both past and present. These policies were largely micro policies in terms of expenditure as well as revenue-generating activities of the State are concerned. In short by announcing a levy of a tax on one particular group, the government left itself open to criticism of political nepotism. Besides the current policies of privatisation and liberalisation are not deemed transparent by the general public and hence are shrouded in controversy, a fact which would limit their expected usefulness.

In contrast, at the time of independence, Pakistan could boast of few resources in the physical, manpower and social sectors. Economists worldwide were declaring that Pakistan was not an economically viable State. That has indeed been proved wrong but not conclusively. The heavy dependence on foreign aid, that by 1992 has reached alarming proportions, has led diagnosticians to claim that it is only a matter of years when all foreign aid would be channeled to pay off past loans. And eventually a time would come when all government expenditure would be so spent. These alarming predictions must be taken seriously by the present government and it must take steps not only to rectify existing economic imbalances mentioned above but also lower its dependence on aid, both rhetorically and in real terms.

PPP Refutes Finance Minister's Claims on Deficit 92AS1447J Karachi DAWN in English 2 Aug 92 p 6

[Text] Lahore, Aug 1—The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Information Secretary, Mr. Salman Taseer, has described the recent appraisal of Pakistan's economy by Finance Minister Mr. Sartaj Aziz as a "tissue of lies and misrepresentations." He said that before the annual budget IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] had carried out a similar exercise, changing the deficit by as much as 200 percent. And it was finally accepted that the annual deficit had reached the astronomical figure of Rs [Rupees] 100 billion as a result of, what he called, fiscal irresponsibility.

Mr. Taseer told a news conference that the denationalisation programme and its methodology had been changed again and again with rules tailored to suit their favourites. He also accused the IJI government of having lied about the estimated annual revenue received, foreign exchange reserves and administrative expenditure.

While referring to foreign exchange reserves as claimed by Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz at around one billion dollars, Mr. Taseer said the fact was that this money belonged to depositors and the government had been consuming the deposits to finance the deficit on the external account.

He said in real terms there was a minus position as more than two billion dollars belonged to the depositors. He expressed his apprehension that the government would not be in a position "to pay it to the depositors on demand."

The trade deficit, Mr. Taseer said, had risen by 56 percent in 1991-92 over the preceding year to 2.32 billion dollars (exports \$6.81 billion and imports \$9.14 billion) because exports had risen by only 11 percent whereas imports went up by 20 percent. Remittances too, had fallen by 350 million dollars presenting a very bleak future, he said.

Mr. Taseer said the 8-billion dollar export target could only be reached by cotton exports which means no added value.

About textiles, he said as a result of the crazy export duty imposed on the textile industry it was facing the worst crisis.

The PPP leader said the Finance Minister had claimed an increase in total investment by 17.6 percent. This was another lie as a large portion of this figure consisted of capital invested to buy denationalised industry.

Mr. Salman Taseer said "with the prevailing political chaos in Pakistan no international investment is coming into Pakistan which is why the investment conference in London last June failed and the High Commissioner Humayun Khan was sacked."

He referred to inflation and said under the IJI, Pakistan had seen the worst inflation in its history in the last 20 months.

Finance Minister Claims Reduction in Deficit

92AS14471 Karachi DAWN in English 1 Aug 92
pp 1, 16

[Text] Islamabad, July 31—Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz said on Friday the fiscal deficit in 1990-91 was to the tune of 6.9 percent of the Gross Domestic Production (GDP) and not 6.6 percent as estimated earlier and announced in his budget speech.

Speaking at a news conference where the minister released figures for the end of June, Sartaj Aziz said in overall terms the government was able to reduce the fiscal deficit from 8.8 percent of GDP in 1990-91 to 6.9 percent in 1991-92.

The fiscal deficit failed to meet an International Monetary Fund target of 5.8 percent that is one of the conditions for continued assistance.

But he said Pakistan registered an estimated growth rate of 6.4 percent in Gross Domestic Production (GDP) during the fiscal 1991-92 ending June 31, 1992 against 5.6 percent in 1990-91.

Sartaj Aziz said the acceleration in growth was noteworthy for having occurred in a year in which the world economy went into a recession and there was less favourable environment for Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings.

He said agriculture showed a growth rate of 6.4 percent as against 5.1 in 1990-91 and 3.0 a year before; manufacturing 7.7 percent against 6.3 in 1990-91 and 5.7 a year before; construction 5.9 percent against 5.7 in 1990-91 and 3.1 a year before.

Growth of electricity and gas sector dipped down to 7.7 percent during last fiscal year as against 10.4 in 1990-91 and 14.6 percent a year before, he said.

The Finance Minister said total investment increased by 17.6 percent from Rs [Rupees] 191 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 224 billion in 1991-92. He said private investment increased by a faster pace than public sector.

He said private investments increased by 24.8 percent from Rs 91.0 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 113.6 billion in 1991-92. The public investment showed an increase of 10.1 percent from Rs 84.2 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 92.7 billion in 1991-92.

The fixed investments increased by 17.8 percent from Rs 175.2 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 206.3 billion in 1991-92, he said.

Sartaj Aziz said the fixed industrial investment registered an increase of 118.9 percent from Rs 16.83 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 36.91 billion in 1991-92.

He said the price indices improved slightly during the last fiscal year when consumer price index came down from 12.7 percent in 1990-91 to 9.6 percent in 1991-92.

The Finance Minister said despite adverse trends the total tax revenues increased by 27 percent from Rs 112 billion in 1990-91 to Rs 142 billion in 1991-92 against the revised target of Rs 143 billion.

He said the overall fiscal deficit was brought down from 8.8 percent of GDP in 1990-91 to 6.9 percent in 1991-92.

He said the current account deficit rose sharply to 2.5 billion dollars from 2.17 billion dollars in 1990-91 due to increased imports of machinery and decrease in workers remittances.

Sartaj Aziz said imports increased by 20 percent against 11.2 percent increase in exports. He said the increase in imports was mainly because of increase in machinery imports by 56 percent.

"This is the type of import we want since it reflects increased investment with positive effects on GDP growth and employment," he said.

The Finance Minister said remittances from overseas Pakistani workers were lower by 20.6 percent from 1,848 million dollars in 1990-91 to 1,468 million dollars in 1991-92.

He said the shortfall in remittances was partly due to switch over to foreign currency accounts which the people have been allowed to maintain for the first time by the government.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said foreign currency accounts of resident Pakistanis increased from 191 million dollars in 1990-91 to 1,141 dollars in 1991-92.

He said the cash foreign exchange reserves held by the State Bank of Pakistan on June 30, 1992 stood 1,021.4 million against 582 million a year before.

The Finance Minister said the foreign exchange reserves include the foreign currency accounts.

Comparing the ruling Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA) government's 20-month period against Opposition Leader Benazir Bhutto's 20-month rule up to August 1990, Aziz said "today the economy is more open and deregulated."

He said exchange and payment reforms have resulted in greater and easier flow of foreign currency and the inflow of foreign private investment increased from 166 million dollars in 1990-91 to 257 million dollars in 1991-92.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said as a part of a long term reform of the tariff system maximum level of custom tariff had been brought down from 135 percent to 90 percent with a view to ensure more efficient use of resources and shift incentives towards exports.

He said monetary policy has been liberalised and the financial regulations reshaped. "These changes and reforms have vastly improved the country's investment climate. As a result international financial institutions and potential investors have started taking renewed interest in Pakistan's development prospects and investment opportunities."

He was hopeful that with the Army action in Sindh to restore the law and order situation, the investment environment would further improve.

Comparing IJI's [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] 20-month in the government with that of PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Sartaj Aziz said during the PPP government in 1972 and 1988 the growth rates had been the lowest in the past 30 years.

He said the GDP growth during PPP government had been 4.8 percent and 4.7 percent in 1988-89 and 1989-90 respectively.

Mr. Sartaj Aziz said even in respect of inflation and prices, "where the record of the PPP government was on the whole satisfactory," the IJI government had done better as Consumer price index in June 1992, over November 1990, increased by 14.4 percent.

But he admitted that the prices of Atta had increased during the IJI government. He said the price of Atta was Rs 3.50 per Kg when the PPP government was ousted out of power while now the price had increased to Rs 4.40 per Kg. This increase, he said, was proportionate to increase in the support price of wheat.

He said the privatisation process has been implemented successfully with 54 industrial units sold for 10 billion rupees. "The new owners have also assumed outstanding liabilities of 19 billion rupees," he said.

Mr. Aziz said legal protection has been provided to the economic reforms introduced by the IDA government.

"We will also bring a constitutional amendment during the next session of the National Assembly (Lower House) to provide constitutional protection to our reforms."

He said the ruling party was short of two or three members to enjoy two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, necessary for bringing any change in the constitution.

Outlining targets for the 1992-93 fiscal year, Mr. Aziz said efforts would be made to keep the last year's GDP growth level while growth rate of five and 8.3 percent respectively have been fixed for agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

Export target has been set at 15 percent as compared to 7.5 percent in imports, reduction in current account deficit from 2.5 billion dollars in 1991-92 to 2.2 billion dollars and bringing down the fiscal level from 6.9 percent last year to 5 percent.

Prime Minister Sharif Determined on Privatization
92AS1425A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
5 Aug 92 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Sindh Operation Proceeding Successfully; Privatisation To Continue Despite Opposition: PM (Prime Minister)"]

[Text] Bhurban, (Murree) Aug 4: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif said that the clean-up operation in Sindh was going on successfully and hopefully things would be settled in less than six months.

Talking to newsmen after inaugurating Pearl-Continental Resort and Conference Hall here, he said the law and order in the province will be back to normal soon that would further promote tourism and investment activities.

He said the armed forces would complete their job soon with the powers given to them. He said the country possessed enormous tourism opportunities, which would be exploited for attracting foreign investment and generating economic activities.

Addressing the inaugural ceremony, the Prime Minister said that the government has undertaken the task of privatisation in order to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development, check losses in public sector and ensure judicious utilisation of national resources.

Mohammad Nawaz Sharif called upon the entrepreneurs to invest in the development of tourism industry assuring that the government would provide them all possible incentives to do so.

The Prime Minister reiterated the firm determination of his government to carry on the policies of privatisation and denationalisation, with the major objective to check losses, which incurred due to poor performance of the public sector.

He said it would be ensured that the money collected through public taxes should not be wasted.

The people, he added, have the right to hold their representatives and the bureaucracy accountable for misuse of the taxes money.

The Prime Minister said the government wanted maximum participation of private sector in all spheres of national activity. He said the development of hotel industry would be encouraged. He said the government would fulfil its responsibility to provide infrastructure in form of water, power, roads and communication services for its rapid progress.

He said he would carry out his policy of privatisation, despite the criticism of opposition parties, and added, that with the passage of time, the parties would begin to appreciate his policies, when these would yield positive results.

He noted with concern that the bottlenecks in the public sector caused wastage of public money and delay in the timely completion of development projects. Such a tendency, he added, could not be allowed.

The Prime Minister said that a committee has been constituted under his chairmanship to take steps for the development of tourism industry.

He said 50 to 60 percent of denationalisation work had been done, and the remaining would be accomplished soon.

Pointing out unsatisfactory performance of the public sector, the Prime Minister said the literacy rate remained considerably low in the country, as most of the educational institutions had been working in the public sector, which often lacked teachers or proper buildings.

He said his government had decided to open Pakistan centres abroad to promote tourism and investment activity. Initially, these centres would be opened in five to seven countries. The work for establishment of these centres was already in progress, he added.

The Prime Minister announced that a new standard road will be constructed from Barian to Abbottabad and the other one from Hasanabdal to Chalas for the promotion of tourism industry.

The inaugural ceremony was also attended by the Chairman Senate Wasim Sajjad, President AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir], Sardar 'Sikandar Hayat, Governor and Chief Minister of Balochistan, some federal ministers, provincial ministers, MNAs [members of National Assembly] and Senators, besides members of diplomatic corps.—APP

Pressler Amendment Said Impacting Military Negatively

92AS1444A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Aug 92
p 10

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Defense Requirements and the Pressler Amendment"]

[Text] After the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's discussion of the Pressler Amendment and commercial sale of arms, the State Department has taken the stand that there should be no restrictions on commercial sale of arms. Half of the F-16 airplanes that Pakistan bought from the United States, are not airworthy because of the lack of spare parts. Meanwhile, the Bush administration told a Congressional panel through a directive that the United States will continue its commercial sale of weapons to Pakistan since there is no legal restriction to it. Whenever the question of U.S. arms supply is raised in the Congress, the anti-Pakistan and pro-India lobbies become very active. These lobbies never hesitate to use the Pressler Amendment as a weapon.

The truth is that during the 1980's, when Pakistan held the position of a front line state, the United States had no problem in issuing a certificate that Pakistan did not have any nuclear weapons, nor did the three authors of the Pressler Amendment—Senators Larry Pressler, John Glenn, Alan Cranston—raise any objections. After the situation in Afghanistan changed, Pakistan lost its former position and support for India also started. The anti-Pakistan lobby mobilized once again. The objections of these senators are important since the U.S. Government itself is opposed to the Pressler Amendment. According to the U.S. State Department, Pakistan has been punished enough by the suspension of U.S. aid. The truth is that the balance of power in the subcontinent is disrupted because of the U.S. politicians with a soft spot for India. Had the supply of spare parts to Pakistan continued, the balance of power would have been maintained.

India is ambitious to establish its supremacy in this region and the Kashmir dispute can result in hostilities at any time. The decision of the U.S. politicians is important in that they are trying to put trade under the Pressler Amendment, whose main goal is to pressure Pakistan. Earlier, the U.S. Government stopped procurement of these planes whose price Pakistan has already paid. Such a situation is not acceptable in any honest trade agreement. Private companies export goods to Pakistan under various licenses and these cannot be illegal under the Pressler Amendment. If the U.S. politicians are so eager in their India-worship that they want to stop even trade deals, then it is clear that they are malicious toward Pakistan. In such circumstances, the Pakistani Government should insist on its appropriate stand and start talks with the countries that can meet our defense needs. We cannot ignore our defense needs because India has increased its air and naval military power greatly and more than it needs.

If the U.S. Government believes that Pakistan has been punished more than enough, then it should also act realistically.

Government Reportedly Purchasing 40 Chinese Planes

92AS1479A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Aug 92
p 1

[News Report by Javed Siddiq: "Pakistan Will Buy 40 F-7P Planes From China; first paragraph is NAWA-I-WAQT lead]

[Text] Plans Following the Cut-Off in the Delivery of F-16 Planes; Karakorum 8 Planes Have Also Been Added to the Pakistan Air Force; MiG-29 and SU-27 Planes as Well as Mirage 2000 French Planes are Under Technical Scrutiny.

Islamabad (By Javed Siddiq): Negotiations for the purchase of 40 F-7P planes from China are reportedly in the final stages. NAWA-I-WAQT has learned that during his visit to Beijing by the chief of the Pakistan Air Force, Chief Marshal Farooq Feroz Khan, the purchase by Pakistan of additional squadrons of F-7P planes was discussed. Chinese-made F-7P planes will be obtained after the needed money becomes available. It has also been learned that following the suspension of the delivery of F-16 planes by the United States, plans were made by the Pakistan Air Force and defense experts to ensure the preparedness of the Pakistan Air Force in the event of foreign attack; and under these plans, contacts are being made with various countries to improve the efficiency of the Pakistan Air Force. NAWA-I-WAQT has learned from military sources that Pakistan Air Force is studying French Mirage 2000 planes from the technical point of view; Pakistani experts will also place Russian MiG-29 and SU-27 planes under similar scrutiny. Certain defense experts are of the opinion that in order to improve its efficiency and performance in war, Pakistan should have an assortment of planes made in different countries, including Mirage 2000, MiG-29, SU-27 and F-7P planes. The problem is the availability of funds. Meanwhile, it has been learned that Pakistan Air Force has decided to add on a regular basis Karakorum 8 (K-8) training jet planes, which are constructed jointly by Pakistan and China. Karakorum 8 planes recently made exhibition flights in the air show in Singapore. Experts from various countries praised the performance of these jet training planes and expressed great interest in them.

Minister Presents Plan To Overcome Military Parts Shortage

92AS1479B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Aug 92
p 12

[News Report by Javed Siddiq: "Bijrani: 'Unavailability of Foreign Weapons Parts Has Created Certain Dangers'; first paragraph is NAWA-I-WAQT lead]

[Text] India Continues To Receive Weapons and Technology Even After Exploding a Nuclear Device; A Master Plan Has Been Prepared for Self-Sufficiency in Defense Production; Private Capital Is Being Included in [the Production of] Special Steel, Radar, Smuggling [Assembling] of Military Vehicles and Helicopters, etc.

Islamabad (By Javed Siddiq): Mir Hazar Khan Bijrani, federal minister for defense production, has said that even before the suspension of U.S. defense aid, the government had prepared a master plan for achieving self-sufficiency in defense production under which \$200 million would be invested in the next five years. Discussing the details of the master plan, the minister said that the \$200 million would be spent on defense production projects in progress at the Wah Ordnance Factory, Pakistan Aeronautical Complex, Heavy Rebuild Factory, and Defense and Science Technology Organization. In a special interview with the editor of the prominent international journal on defense and military affairs, JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, the minister for defense production said that in order to create greater momentum in domestic defense production, the private sector had been given permission to invest in defense projects such as plants for the production of special steel and aluminium alloys, fibre glass, carbon, and hydraulic

and pneumatic systems assembly; plants for assembling military vehicles, helicopters, radar, and telecommunication; and plants for the production of computers for control and command centers and debugging equipment.

The minister for defense production said that after the Gulf war, Pakistan was encountering great difficulties in procuring defense equipment; some of the countries that had supplied such equipment in the past had stopped selling spare parts to Pakistan, endangering the freedom of Pakistan and several other developing countries. Even after reassurances by Pakistan that its nuclear program was for peaceful purposes, military aid to Pakistan was stopped under the Pressler Amendment. These policies of military [sic] countries posed a challenge to Pakistan; on the other hand, India, which had exploded a nuclear device in 1974, continued its missiles program and received technology that was being denied to Pakistan. In view of this situation and in order to strengthen its defenses and preserve its freedom, Pakistan has started a program of self-sufficiency. The minister said that to achieve self-sufficiency in defense weaponry, Pakistan has decided to expand such institutions as POF (Wah) [Pakistan Ordnance Factory], Heavy Rebuild Factory, and Pakistan Aeronautical Complex Tiksala.

Population Growth Seen as Economic Threat

92AS1478A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 8 Aug 92
p 11

[Article by Altaf Abed Silana: "Population Growth in Pakistan: A Serious Economic Problem"]

[Text] Overpopulation can mean different things in different countries. Overpopulation in one country does not mean that its population is greater than necessary. The negative or positive aspects of overpopulation are decided by the availability of resources. The countries that have plenty of resources can absorb their total labor force in various jobs. However, in countries with limited resources, even a small population could be considered more than necessary. Just like other developing countries, the population problem in Pakistan has become very critical. It is imperative that we find an immediate and effective solution to this problem. Some people try to give various reasons and hope that this problem will disappear by itself. The fact is that this problem will not solve itself; it will require smart strategic planning. One thing is clear. If we do not find an effective solution soon, this problem will explode in the form of various disasters, violence, and inhuman activities. Take the example of Pakistan. According to the July 1991 census, its population is 115.42 million. The annual increase was noted at 3.06 percent. Can our country's resources support and keep up this rapid population growth? The answer is a definite no. The truth is that the progress that Pakistan has made since independence was debilitated by the rapid population increase. Most people did not experience any change in their living standards (except for those who have income from questionable means). The monthly income of an average Pakistani is less than 700 rupees at the present rate, and it is embarrassing for us. We made many claims and raised even more slogans, however, the condition of our economy is in front of us.

We have several reasons to believe that our country is overpopulated. Many facts prove this belief. For example, in our country savings are critically low because most of the money is spent on purchasing necessary items for the large number of people in each family. In a large family, there are very few earning members and the remaining members depend on their income. The very low per capita income (8,085 rupees per annum at present rate) prove that our population is growing very fast, and the growth rate of our resources is very slow. Our per person per month income is less than 700 rupees, which is not enough to make ends meet. No economic expert can make a budget enabling a person to live on 700 rupees a month and meet all his needs. The question of luxuries does not even arise here. Aren't these people Pakistanis? Don't they have any right over Pakistan? In my opinion, they are the real Pakistanis. The rate of our economic growth is very slow and is unbelievable. The factors on which our economic progress depends are very unstable. Our country still depends on agriculture and agriculture depends on good weather, timely and plentiful rainfall, and no floods. If

nature is kind, we can have plenty of wheat and cotton. Both of these crops are badly affected if rain does not fall on time or there are floods, and their per acre yield is lowered dramatically. Thus, our country's economy depends a lot on agriculture, and this keeps the whole economy in a quandary and prevents it from getting ahead of the population increase. The number of persons depending on other is increasing each year in Pakistan. This also proves that we are overpopulated.

Since our population growth rate (3.06 percent) is too high—and we are the champion in the whole of Asia in this area—the number of children is increasing rapidly. These children cannot work, but need resources to support their nutrition, education, health, clothing, and other expenses. Unfortunately, we do not have enough resources to supply these necessary items. Similarly, the unemployed, the sick, and the old are also joining this list of dependents. Our population was 115.52 million according to the July 1991 census and the labor force was only 31.8 million. In other words, less than 30 percent of our population earns a living. From among every 10 persons, only three are employed and the remaining seven depend on them for support. This proves without any doubt that we are suffering from overpopulation. Most of our population can afford to eat only very simple meals, which lack necessary nutrition. This in turn adversely affects their health. The condition of their dressing and living is not very different. A large portion of our population is deprived of appropriate clothing and homes. This fact also proves that our limited resources are burdened by overpopulation. In Pakistan's agriculture system, there is no work for most of the year and during that idle time our agriculture labor force has no income from work. Unemployment is common in urban areas also. Many educated and uneducated persons are unsuccessful in getting employment or gets jobs that are way below their qualifications and for much lower wages. We can call this situation semi-unemployment. This is also a result of overpopulation. Innumerable people move from villages to cities for employment and independent lives, and this rate of migration is very alarming. Our cities are growing very rapidly. Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan, Lahore, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar have grown so much that it has become impossible for the government to provide adequate schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, housing, health care, power, gas, telephone, sewage, and food to the people in these cities. This increasing pressure of urban population is clear proof of overpopulation in Pakistan. This increase devours the major part of agricultural and industrial production and leaves little for export. In some cases, we have to resort to importing needed commodities.

There is no doubt that Pakistan has become a victim of overpopulation. We have to find a solution to this problem within an economic and social framework. We have to make family planning a national campaign. We have to convince our whole population that family planning is very important and it is for their good. When

the people are convinced, the population growth rate will definitely go down. We have to always remember that we cannot force ideas on people. At the same time, we have to keep our rate of economic growth higher than the rate of population growth in order to improve our living standards. We have to make education compulsory because educated persons easily understand the benefits of a small family. It is difficult to make the uneducated understand it. To some extent some people understand the benefits of family planning and started to practice it. However, the number of such persons is very small. As education spreads, the proportion of people accepting family planning will also increase. It is our misfortune that parents keep trying to have a son without considering the number of children they have. It has been observed that in their desire to have a son, they become parents of 10 or 12 daughters. This is idiotic and reflects our old-fashioned thinking. A daughter is a gift from Allah, but these wretched people think her a curse. We claim to be Muslims, however, there is conflict between our beliefs and our actions. Our primitive thinking is one major reason for the increased population. Our family planning staff paid more attention to paperwork and did very little field work. Population cannot be controlled by compiling paper reports while sitting in air-conditioned rooms.

Fictitious reports can make one's job permanent and get one promoted, but the real goal is not achieved. We should never forget decreasing population growth and increasing investment in human and other resources are very important for us. It would not be inappropriate to say that our economic progress is dependent on these. Until 1960, economic experts gave more importance to increasing goods production by establishing new factories and erecting new buildings. No importance was given to investing in the people or increasing growth and income. The quantity and quality of a population is in its human resources. Education, skills, good health, and good nutrition are very important in increasing people's growth potential. If the people of a country are educated, skilled in their jobs, eat well, and have excellent health, then that country would be called rich in human resources. However, if the people are illiterate, untrained, and in bad health, they will produce less per person, per hour. Contemporary economists call the expenses for education, health, and nutrition an investment. They believe that it is important to increase spending in these areas. The fact is that investment on goods production and human resources should be simultaneous. These complement each other in economic progress. While we try to tackle the problem of overpopulation through family planning, we must also give priority to education, health, and social welfare programs. We have to emphasize technical education to abolish unemployment, which is the result of overpopulation. We have to give more attention to sciences than to arts education. In order to stop the brain drain to industrialized countries, we must improve the lot of these intelligent and highly trained persons. Agricultural expansion centers and adult education classes can help

spread technical education in rural areas. Because Pakistan is already overpopulated, any increase in population will aggravate our problems. Each year, the increase in economic growth in various areas is swallowed by the increase in population and no real effect is made in our national income. The workers are losing their ability to save and invest because of the increasing burden of children. The rapid increase in Pakistan's population is adversely affecting our living standards. It is very difficult for any person to provide a good education, a healthy environment, and other basic needs to many children. The rapidly increasing population in Pakistan calls for us to concentrate on increasing food production leaving very little land for cash crops. The rapid increase in population in our country is increasing the burden on arable land, which is being distributed into small parcels. We must try to decrease the rate of our population growth to an acceptable level. It is possible to reduce the population growth rate by providing regular education to females, providing them employment in their neighborhoods, and delaying their marriages by a few years. By providing education, electricity, roads, and other such facilities, we can change their outlook, which will help reduce the rate of population growth. Another front on which we must work hard is to better use our natural and human resources and accelerate our economy so much that population growth is left behind. I believe that to succeed on this front we have to forget the practice of....[sentence incomplete] The efforts to divide wealth equally in 1970 also failed badly.

To meet the basic needs of our population, we must take the following steps:

1. Increase employment opportunities for the groups under consideration in various areas.
2. Confiscate land from landlords who own land above a specific limit (after paying them a reasonable price), and divide the land among people equitably.
3. Steps necessary to increase agricultural and industrial production must be taken immediately and finished within a specific time limit.
4. The government must play an active role in completing projects for providing better health, education, food, housing, drinking water, and other basic necessities.
5. The government must take more interest in producing such goods that are essential for low-income groups.

When providing basic necessities such as food, housing, and clothing, the government must follow a policy of providing simple things. Plans that cost very little and do not need experts should be implemented. We should be able to use local labor and raw material produced domestically. I am very positive that if we follow the policy of "basic necessities" our economic and social goals will be achieved very soon and as time passes the benefits will be felt. Its advantages will reach more and more people

in the form of increased real income. The country will be able to get out of the vicious circle of "low living standards."

This is a welcome fact that Pakistan's Government is aware of the fast increase in population. However, the efforts made in this area are half-hearted and insufficient. The departments responsible for it have been busy mostly completing the required paperwork and doing little or no actual work. It is important to make the efforts of various departments more effective. This work must be done at a campaign footing. This is our common moral duty that we leave a prosperous Pakistan to future generations. There should be higher per capita income, people should have better living standards, employment should be easily available, there should be no red tape, and adequate educational and health facilities should be available. All this will be possible only when we are successful in controlling our population growth.

Article Claims Women's Rights 'Trampled Upon'
92AS1447A Karachi DAWN (Supplement) in English
4 Aug 92 pp 5-6

[Article by Fazila Gulrez: "Women on the Road to Emancipation"]

[Text] How does our society perceive women? An able-bodied, equal, intelligent human being, or a commodity to be treated like animals, abused and stripped of all rights and obligations. Of course, what is apparent from our past and present, it is the latter status, which has been bestowed upon the women of this country, by the political leaders, clergy and generally by men. It is in this background that we have to see whether we really needed a women's movement to fight the case of women and how the government responded to these movements, and where does it stand today.

The beginning of the women's movement, or rather organisation can be traced back to the Pakistan movement, where women political leaders played a very active role in mobilising women of all cadres for support. This was followed by women working for the rehabilitation of refugees, led by none other than Raana Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan. She continued in her endeavour to activate young women in voluntary services also.

Here was laid the foundation of the first women organisation—All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in 1949. It began with social and welfare work, and therefore not really considered a threat by the government, in fact it even received funds. APWA began with the opening of girls' schools, health centres and industrial homes for women. But this was not all. APWA also aimed at raising the status of women and securing their legal rights. It was APWA who pushed for the Family Laws Commission, which eventually prepared the draft of Family Laws Ordinance 1961, the first step towards protection of women in marriage, also it was back in

1953 that a demand for women's representation in National Assembly and provincial assemblies was put forth.

Raana Liaquat Ali Khan—the driving force behind the APWA—went on to set up another organisation—Federation of University Women [FUW] in 1956, the members comprised educated women, who further went on to establish college for women who were unable to continue with their education due to lower grades. Prior to this Begum Raana attempted to mobilise business women by forming professional women's club in 1954. Along with this there were many other organisations working in specific fields.

The other noteworthy organisation formed was Democratic Women's Association led by activists like Ms. Tahira Mazhar Ali and labour leader Naseem Ashraf Malik. This body was aiming at taking up women issues, and they attempted to mobilise women at political level. The other organisation with similar aims was United Front for Women Rights established in 1955, by Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz. It was felt then that the existing groups were not doing enough and a separate platform was needed to voice demands for women's rights. The need was realised more so after Mohammad Ali Bogra's second marriage.

It was APWA who was later joined by UFWR [expansion not given] in launching a campaign against Bogra. It was the protest by these groups that a commission was appointed to look into the matters of second marriage, custody of child, etc., but later due to the pressure from the clergy, the report became a part of the files.

The Ayub era saw some ray of hope for the betterment of women. Mainly because Ayub did not really encourage the clergy to interfere with the working of the state, and there was a more liberal attitude taken up by the government towards women. It was also during this time that the Family Laws Ordinance was promulgated, a major victory won by the women organisations. Around this time there was no major cause taken up by the women. And so many new organisations were formed and many old ones became part of history among them being Democratic Women's Association. Most of these groups formed were run by almost the same known names, who belonged to influential political families. But one found the drive and dedication among them which seems to have slackened in later years, of course much depends on the severity of the cause also.

The political scenario underwent a complete change with the advent of Bhutto era. A new life was breathed into the people—men and women. The women's wing of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] mobilised the rural women population to spread the PPP message, and this also helped in creating an awareness among the females about politics and its processes. Besides the 1973 Constitution also gave many rights to the women, at least on paper. The presence of Begum Nusrat Bhutto on the political scene further helped the women.

With the U.N. declaring 1976 as decade of the women year, there was a subtle change also found in Pakistan among the educated young women. The women organisations also clamoured to declare International Women's Year in Pakistan. Also because Pakistan was represented at Mexico and was a signatory. In this regard APWA, too, played an active role in furthering the cause of women beyond social welfare, in development and raising the status of women.

Around this time a change appeared among the women activists. Many of them were returnees from abroad, exposed to western ideas and movements, the information explosion also played its role, and these women began to give a new angle to the women issues and that was talking of women emancipation and liberation, as feminist consciousness. This took roots among the university students and the first among them was The Women's Front created in Lahore in 1974-75, by students of Punjab University. Their scope of action went beyond the social spectrum. They spoke of women's position in our society, the measure of their contribution in the development, and fight for equal rights. This was a non-political organisation, though tilted towards the Left.

The other was Aurat, again working for depressed women, it comprised Left-oriented university teachers and students and emphasised on creating an awakening among women about their rights and recognition of their own person as an entity. Among these organisations worth mentioning is Shirkat Gah. Their manifesto included much of the same points of raising the status of women, creating an awareness among them of the productive role they could play in the society. This group also attempted to provide the working women with facilities like nurseries, day cares, health and legal aid. The first two organisations fizzled out with time. One of the reasons may also have been the lack of infrastructure, and leadership being transferred to the coming generation.

The Shirkat Gah perhaps would have met the same fate. With the change in the political scenario from democracy back to martial law, many of these activities came to a halt, or at least were very subdued. But again it was the repression in Zia's era which gave a new impetus to the women and the groups. It was the famous Fehmida and Allah Bux case when Shirkat Gah became reactivated and thus, Women's Action Forum (WAF) was formed in 1981, with many of the Shirkat Gah members joining WAF.

The coming of Zia-ul-Haq to power, brought in its wake a whole new set of problems for women. In his attempt to Islamise Pakistan, the axe mainly fell on the women. The clergy who had been the greatest obstacle, and agitators against any measures to further awaken the women to fight for their rights, joined hands with Zia to do away with many of the laws favouring women and impose new ones, for instance, there was a lot of clamour to repeal

the Family Laws Ordinance, which they had wanted to do away with for a long time.

Each new day came a new edict from the government. The axe fell on women taking part in sports. Though it was never given in writing, but all the women athletes were on one pretext or another not allowed to take part in world or regional competition. An Islamic code of dressing for women was imposed. School uniforms underwent overnight change and Chaddars were introduced for girls. They also began demanding a separate university for girls. The government tried to curtail and curb women participation in politics, voting and also in the nature of jobs, (allowed to join only those suitable for women).

From curbing personal liberties, Zia government set about promulgating laws repugnant to women and further denigrate the status of women. In 1979 came the Hudood Ordinance, which covered adultery, rape, prostitution, theft, drinking alcohol and bearing false testimony. It was a strange coincidence in most of the rape cases, it was always the women who were found guilty, while the men were acquitted due to lack of evidence. This was followed by the Law of Evidence, 1984, where in certain cases, the evidence of two women was equal to one man's, reducing the status of women by half. In the same way the law of Qisas and Diyat also reduced the status of women and of minorities.

The constant attack on women and the court rulings of stoning to death flogging and whipping, reactivated the women into action. Beginning with the Fehmida case WAF urged all other women organisations in resisting the government policies towards women. They urged upon the educated women and men, legal experts to help them. They conducted seminars, lectures, held rallies, distributed pamphlets to make the educated classes aware of how the fundamentalists were trying to curb the rights of women.

WAF soon attracted the attention of all other women organisations, and in a short time gained strength. There was a cause to fight for, the antagonist atmosphere further helped WAF. Besides the Safia Bibi and Fehmida cases numerous other cases of injustices toward women were taken up by WAF, and in many of the cases were successful in averting the court punishment.

WAF compromised mainly of upper middle class, educated and working women, who had penetrated into professional fields which helped them rally support from experts, like in the legal issues, they were backed by leading lawyers Rashida Patel, Khalid Ishaque, etc. Also enlightened men and intellectuals, who felt the heavy hand of clergy, supported WAF and came out in support in protest march and rallies. WAF was the only group, who was able to bring the women issues to the forefront nationwide. The chapters which were soon formed in Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar, coordinated action

and strategy on every new edict which came from the government. At times the WAF agitation even embarrassed the ruling elite.

WAF was a non-political organisation, its aims were to bring on one platform all the organisations and women to combat the injustices meted out to women. They aimed to raise consciousness among women of how they were being systematically removed from the mainstream of life, and again pushed behind the four walls. It was not an easy task, but the environment and existing situation was the driving force. And it was also the realisation among the educated women of how delicately balanced was their freedom. The pressure by the WAF did have very positive results.

By the late eighties, WAF activities slowed down. Besides technical reasons, the political upheaval in the country, some basic flaws also changed WAF. There was no infrastructure to sustain the group. Besides differences and friction occurred in Lahore chapter, though it was the most vocal in taking up the issues. The Peshawar chapter soon lost its viability. Many of the activists branched out, joined NGOs [Non government Organization] or began working for NGOs. It seemed as if the women activists have been left without a cause.

The change in the political atmosphere also had its role. With the coming of Benazir into power, the women groups relaxed, expecting that soon most of the unjust laws against women would be repealed, but nothing happened. But the women still did not agitate. WAF still exists, but very inactive and subdued, why?

The women's rights are still trampled upon, there is the same repression, still the same cruelties are meted out to women, but no one is willing to make a move to change all this. Women have yet not won the battle, especially when we take into account the lowly position of the rural women and the very low income women in urban areas. The cause is still very much alive for these women organisations. But it seems there is no one to take up the cudgels. The very recent case of women artists being forced to adorn dupattas on their head in TV plays is a point in case. It always begins with very simple and benign moves, which later take on serious turns, whereby women are flogged and whipped and denied even the right to prove her innocence. The cause is still very much alive, what happened to the urgency of women activists?

Escalation of Crimes Against Women Regretted

92AS1475D Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 7 Aug 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Rising Crime Against Women"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The upsurge of crimes against women can be judged from the fact that in a single day, on August 3, the press reported two incidents of gangrape, two rapes and two cases of abduction in Punjab alone. Given our feudal-patriarchal social milieu, women traditionally remain the oppressed section of society. In the recent past, state-sponsored Islamisation has resulted in laws, which have further degraded their legal status. The clergy patronised by the state is bent upon condemning them as second-class citizens under the rhetoric of 'chadar and chardivari'. The law enforcement agencies, influenced by this general milieu, have increased the mistreatment of the women, who come to them for help. The increase in crimes against them is then perhaps not surprising.

On the one hand, our leaders endlessly subscribed to the rhetoric that Islam has bestowed revolutionary rights on women. On the other, they condone the laws which make a mockery of the equal citizen status that the constitution guarantees them. Under a facade of modernity, the government may concede that the progress of the nation is conditional on the advancement of its 50 percent female population, but its appeasement of a conventional religious lobby reduces these statements to nothing. The recent judgement by the Supreme Court, which ended the validity of the Family Laws Ordinance, made to protect the rights of women, highlights the general socio-political trend in this country. The state, rather than taking concrete steps to improve the social status of women, is bent upon further reducing it. Reserved seats for women in the national and provincial legislatures have still not been restored. Human rights organisations' cries against the maltreatment of hapless women in the country's jails and police thanas fall on deaf ears. When the state, under pressure from such a lobby, creates an atmosphere which further erodes the already secondary status that women have in society, the increase of violent crime against them becomes a logical outcome. The fact is that if this trend of women's oppression continues, this society's aspirations for socio-economic progress must come to nought.

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